

GREAT JAPAN

A STUDY OF NATIONAL EFFICIENCY

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GREAT JAPAN

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GREAT JAPAN

A STUDY OF NATIONAL EFFICIENCY
WITH A FOREWORD BY THE RT. HON.
THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G., ETC.

BY

ALFRED STEAD

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DEDICATED
WITH MUCH ADMIRATION
TO THE
JAPANESE NATION

FOREWORD*

You ask me to write a few words to precede your study of national efficiency in connection with Japan. Japan is indeed the object-lesson of national efficiency, and happy is the country that learns it.

But not a hundred books or a thousand prefaces will bring this lesson home to our own nation. We have been so successful in the world without efficiency that in the ordinary course of events we shall be one of the last to strive for it without some external pressure. We won our empire and our liberties by genius and daring in an inefficient world. Now that one or more nations are keenly striving after efficiency it will not be easy to maintain our heritage; for the inefficient nation must sooner or later go to the wall. We have muddled

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through so successfully by character and courage that we are indifferent as to any other secret of achievement.

Three things may move us : obvious decline, sudden catastrophe, or some stimulating example. This last, at least, is furnished by Japan.

Some think we are too old a nation for new departures ; that our garment is too old for new patches. It is true that we cannot begin on entirely new lines ; we cannot, like an American manufacturer, "scrap" all our old machinery and begin suddenly afresh. But Japan is, historically speaking, a much older nation than ours ; and yet she actually did this very thing some thirty years ago : discarded nearly everything but patriotism, and began a fresh career. But the exception of patriotism was vast and pregnant. For she not merely retained a peculiar devotion to fatherland ; but developed it into a religion. "Our country is our idol," says the Japanese editor whom you quote, "and patriotism our first doctrine. From the Emperor downwards, the vast majority have no other religion."

How stands it with us in comparison with these

Oriental? We have all the raw materials, some of the best. We have courage and brains and strength, but there is surely an immense leakage of power in their development. Politically speaking, we begin and end with party. We are all striving to put ourselves or our leaders into offices or expel other people from them. This is not from want of patriotism : quite the reverse, the habit of centuries has made us believe that this is patriotism, this and no other. Do we ever stop to reflect what is the outcome of it all : the nett result of millions of words, words, words ; of great debates and incessant divisions and spirited autumn campaigns? In truth, exceeding little. “The hungry sheep look up and are not fed.” But Brown has made a fine speech, and Jones has surpassed himself, and Robinson has done less well than usual, and so we turn complacently from the long newspaper reports to the ordinary bread and cheese of life. And the old State machine creaks on.

The fact is that party is an evil—perhaps, even probably, a necessary evil, but still an evil. It is the curse of our country that so many, especially in

high places, should worship it as a god. It has become so much a part of our lives that even those who think ill of it think it as inevitable as the fog; so inevitable that it is of no use thinking what we should do without it. And yet its operation blights efficiency. It keeps out of employment a great mass of precious ability. It puts into place not the fittest but the most eligible, from the party point of view—that is, very often, the worst. Efficiency implies the rule of the fittest; party means the rule of something else—not the unfittest, but of the few fit, the accidentally not unfit, and the glaringly unfit. The most efficient and brilliant ministry in our annals strikingly exemplifies this fact. The office of chief minister was divided into two parts, strictly delimited: one, party and patronage, managed by the Duke of Newcastle; the other, business and the work of the nation, for which (the elder) Pitt was responsible. By thus cutting himself off from the petty cares of party, Pitt was free to do the country's work. His partner made the bishops and the deans, and the generals and the admirals, and appointed every one

down to the tidewaiters ; while he himself planned victory. By this equitable division work was severed from patronage, and efficiency from party ; the result was the most successful Government known to us. But it has found no imitators or successors. And yet, if party be inevitable, this should be one way of escaping its evils.

It may, no doubt, be alleged, and with truth, that party is to some extent fading among us, that party divisions are increasingly unreal, and that the party landmarks are being constantly shifted about. That does not, however, affect the position. There is enough party to last our time, and what has to be done should be done quickly. And, after all, if you get rid of party in one shape it will turn up again in another.

Why, then, it may be asked, break your teeth against a stone ? Party is as ineradicable as our climate ; it is indeed part of our moral climate. Granted. But it is at least necessary to point out that whenever we do begin to aim at efficiency we shall be handicapped by this formidable encumbrance.

There has no doubt been plenty of party in Japan. But party in Japan has not spelt inefficiency ; it tends perhaps in the other direction. It appears to be a rivalry of faction for the goal and prize of efficiency. Japanese parties apparently represent a nation determined on efficiency. That is where we differ. We are not a nation bent on efficiency ; we have thriven so well on another diet that we are careless in the matter. We regard our parties as interesting groups of gladiators. Our firmest faith appears to be that one will do worse than the other ; so we maintain the other, which ever that may be. The possibility of a directing and vitalizing Government that shall do and inspire great things we seem to exclude from possibility with a sort of despair. We know too well that our ministers, however great the ardour and freshness with which they set to work, will soon be lost in the labyrinthine mazes of parliamentary discussion, and that whatever energy they can preserve when they emerge must be devoted to struggling for existence on provincial platforms.

And yet there is work to do—pressing, vital

work, which does not admit of delay ; work which would fill strenuous years even if Parliament were suspended and not a speech were delivered.

But Parliament must sit and speeches must be discharged. We must then, at least, learn from Japan how to obtain efficiency in spite of the party systems. That is the best lesson that she can teach us.

ROSEBERY

P R E F A C E

IN this book it is by no means my intention to compare the national efficiency of Japan with that of other nations ; my object is simply to give examples from various sides of national life in that country which demonstrate the advantageous effects to be derived from a universal and practical patriotism. Whether a nation which inevitably places the State before the individual is superior to one in which the individual takes precedence of the State, it is not my intention to discuss. I am only anxious that due attention should be given to the causes and their development which have enabled an obscure country of some forty years ago to become one of the first Powers of the world to-day. I shall be more than content if this book has, as a sole result, the calling of attention to what must always be considered as one of the most remarkable phenomena in history. That the advancement of Japan has been no disjointed series of leaps in the dark, impelled by force of circumstances, is so evident, that it is useless labour to elaborate the proof. But it is of value to deal with the causes, and make tangible the working of the methods, which have resulted in such proficiency. The living thread which has bound together in closest union the whole national policy of that realm is to be found in the earnest, thinking, and eminently practical patriotism of the people of Japan. The love of the

Japanese for their country is a real, an active force, which is shown in every action, and which colours all national development. Ask a Japanese whether he would be prepared to sacrifice himself and his career for his country's good, and without hesitation he will answer in the affirmative. It does not need consideration, it is instinctive; for to the Japanese patriotism is part of their life, not, as with us, a thing apart. The Japanese patriotism, with its resulting pride of country, demands national efficiency in every department of the nation, and since this demand is made by the whole and united force of the entire population, national efficiency is no mere formula, empty save of theories.

Where every citizen, however humble, is determined, not only to be efficient for his country's sake, but to sacrifice himself if necessary to secure that national efficiency, it is not to be wondered at that remarkable results are achieved. National efficiency can never be achieved without this national solidarity, and for this reason, if for no other, it is instructive to study their demonstration of this national spirit, their proficiency in which has enabled them to become the most efficient nation of the world. These few studies may act as a primer to this study of Japan's national development, but the higher text books must be found in Japan itself.

Nowhere else in history is there such opportunity for studying the results of the application of the world's progress and the success or failure of its attempts. In the early days of the new era in Japan, commissions were despatched into all parts of the world to gather up the best that the united labour of hundreds of years had produced. Japan became the receptacle for the proved achievements

of the world, and had only to improve upon these by the pressure of a public opinion aggressively determined upon national progress. I confess frankly to an intense admiration and a feeling almost of awe at the sight of this magnificent national force moving in nearly perfect harmony towards the definite end of the nation's welfare. To my mind it is difficult to place any limit upon the future of such a thinking and educated power. For the first time a nation animated by it takes its place in the front rank of the world's Powers, and in so doing establishes new standards for the measurement of national affairs. That perfection has not been reached, the Japanese are the first to recognize, and they try to discover national shortcomings, not only to deplore, but in order to correct them, which is in itself a good attribute of any national energy. This ceaseless activity of the national spirit, ever at work strengthening the weak places in national defences, must be constantly making for more complete efficiency. Japan for the Japanese is no cry of artificial exclusion ; it is born of the confidence given them by a knowledge of the national ability to hold its own. This confidence of the nation in itself is one of the most striking results of a practical patriotism. In Japan no one Atlas is left to bear up the skies—every man, woman, and child is ready and proud to share the task. Surely it can do no harm to study things Japanese! Even from those deeper thinkers to whom their patriotism still seems a thing bizarre and almost fanatic, the results obtained force consideration. Those causes which have produced such results are of the utmost value, and Japan's development offers to the world far more valuable lessons than those which she has given upon the battle-field or upon the high seas. A patriotism which insists

upon an even development of the national body and efficiency in every branch of national life is worthy of study, and, to my mind, there is an increasing necessity for its adoption by our own and other nations.

No more illuminating utterance has ever been pronounced in Japan or elsewhere as to Japanese motive and method in adopting certain elements of Western civilization, than the address made to the nobles of the empire by the Emperor of Japan in November, 1871 :—

“After careful study and observation, I am deeply impressed with the belief that the most powerful and enlightened nations of the world are those who have made diligent efforts to cultivate their minds, and sought to develop their country in the fullest and most perfect manner.

“Thus convinced, it becomes my responsible duty as a sovereign to lead our people wisely in a way to attain for them beneficial results, and their duty is to assist diligently and unitedly in all efforts to attain these ends. How, otherwise, can Japan advance and sustain herself upon an independent footing among the nations of the world ?

“From you, nobles of this realm, whose dignified position is honoured and conspicuous in the eyes of the people at large, I ask and expect conduct well becoming your exalted position, ever calculated to endorse by your personal example those goodly precepts to be employed hereafter in elevating the masses of our people.

“I have to-day assembled your honourable body in our presence chamber, that I might first express to you my intentions, and, in fore-shadowing my policy, also impress you all with the fact that both this Government and people will expect from you diligence and wisdom while leading

and encouraging those in your several districts to move forward in paths of progress. Remember your responsibility to your country is both great and important. Whatever our natural capacity for intellectual development, diligent effort and cultivation are necessary to attain successful results.

“If we would profit by the useful arts and sciences and conditions of society prevailing among more enlightened nations, we must either study those at home as best we can, or send abroad an expedition of practical observers to foreign lands, competent to acquire for us those things our people lack which are best calculated to benefit this nation.

“Travel in foreign countries, properly indulged in, will increase your store of useful knowledge, and although some of you may be advanced in age, unfitted for the vigorous study of new ways, all may bring back to our people much valuable information. Great national defects require immediate remedies.

“We lack superior institutions for high female culture. Our women should not be ignorant of those great principles on which the happiness of daily life frequently depends. How important the education of mothers, on whom future generations almost wholly rely for the early cultivation of those intellectual tastes which an enlightened system of training is designed to develop!

“Liberty is therefore granted wives and sisters to accompany their relatives on foreign tours, that they may acquaint themselves with better forms of female education, and on their return introduce beneficial improvement in the training of our children.

“With diligent and united efforts, manifested by all classes and conditions of people throughout the empire, we

may successfully attain the highest degrees of civilization within our reach, and shall experience no serious difficulty in maintaining power, independence, and respect among the nations.

“To you, nobles, I look for endorsement of these views ; fulfil my best expectations by carrying out these suggestions, and you will perform faithfully your individual duties to the satisfaction of Japan.”

Here is indeed the key-note of Japanese national policy, appropriately expressed by the head and centre of the nation. A thoughtful observance of the points therein brought forward has enabled the Japanese nation to reach that point where it is recognized as a leading power ; and more far-reaching still, has enabled the Japanese people to wipe out the traditional belief in racial superiorities. In 1871, Marquis Ito—then a humbler official without title—summed up Japanese aspirations as follows :—

“The red disc in the centre of our national flag shall no longer appear like a wafer over a sealed nation, but henceforth be, in fact, what it is designed to be, the noble emblem of the rising sun, moving onward and upward amid the enlightened nations of the world.”

ALFRED STEAD.

63, CHEYNE WALK, LONDON,

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GREAT JAPAN

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CHAPTER I

A NATION AND ITS HEAD

THROUGHOUT the whole world there is no such "national" nation, if the term may be allowed, as Japan. The Japanese realize the true meaning of the word and the idea more completely, and act up to it more adequately, than any other people. In Japan there is no mere chance collection of individuals speaking the same language; the Japanese nation is a living and sentient reality, throbbing with all the life and vigour of the millions of human beings within its island shores, all striving in one common direction. There exists no distinction between the welfare of the individual and the welfare of the State—whoever attacks the State, attacks each and every Japanese subject. The Japanese recognize to the full the duties of patriotism as well as the rights and advantages of citizenship. The individual interest always gives way to the national, and it is only in moments of abnormal strain that the contrary might occur. If common thought and unanimous self-sacrifice produce power, the secret of Japanese success in the world is not far to seek.

Undoubtedly the fact that Japan has never known the foot of the invader, and has stood unconquered through the ages, has had much to do with the development of her

national feeling. There is practically no admixture of race, certainly none similar to that resulting from the invasions of the Anglo-Saxons or the Normans into Great Britain. The Japanese have been a race apart, and draw much stimulus and glory from that self-sufficiency and pureness of blood. Then, again, the practice of ancestor-worship, which is universal, gives to every individual a pride of descent, an interest in the past of his country unknown elsewhere. It is only necessary to reflect on the pride of family inherent in old county families in England to realize how great a factor must be the possession by every Japanese of a family tree which quite dwarfs the loftiest genealogy possessed here. All these ancestors are remembered and venerated in an unbroken chain into the mists of mythology. These influences are as strong as ever they were, and have not been affected by the adoption of Western ideas.

Patriotism and true nationalism are apt to become diffuse, and thus weakened, unless they possess some definite point around which to centre themselves. The finest bridge falls to the ground without the keystone. In Japan, the Emperor is the centre of the nation, the sun of the Japanese universe, and the keystone of the national arch. As a leading Japanese literary man and newspaper editor, Mr. Ichiro Tokutomi, once said: "Our country is our idol, and patriotism our first doctrine. From the Emperor downwards, the vast majority have no other religion."

"The love that we bear to our Emperor," says Dr. Nitobe, "naturally brings with it a love for the country over which he reigns. Hence our sentiment of patriotism—I will not call it a duty, for, as Dr. Samuel Johnson rightly suggests, patriotism is a sentiment and is more than duty—I say our patriotism is fed by two streams of sentiment, namely, that of personal love to the monarch, and of our common love for the soil which gave us birth and provides us with hearth and home. Nay, there is

another source from which our patriotism is fed : it is that the land guards in its bosom the bones of our fathers."

Pro rege et pro patria is practically the religion of the Japanese, and a religion so interwoven with their basic elements of being, that it is all-effective. Shinto, the indigenous religion of the country, practically says to a man, "Worship your ancestors, be loyal to your Emperor, and for the rest do what your heart tells you, so shall you be right." The Emperor has avowedly and historically behind him a direct line of imperial ancestry far older than any other in the world. He is possibly of a race different from that of the majority of his subjects, and is believed to be descended from the Sun. Ask a modern Japanese, well educated in Western science and history, as to his faith in the divine origin of his ruler, and he will tell you that, while his reason assures him that the Emperor is an ordinary mortal, he can never see him without a thrill as of the superhuman. Devotion and loyalty to his person is absolutely religious and unquestioning.

"Loyalty and patriotism," says Count Okuma, "always go together in this country. They are inseparable ; the one cannot exist without the other. . . . Such patriotism is the more extraordinary, for in the absolute isolation which we enjoyed until fifty years ago, it was scarcely to be expected that this sentiment would be fostered and cultivated. For in a state of isolation, patriotism, as a rule, loses its meaning. Fortunately for Japan, we have always had the sense of loyalty, and with it the essence of patriotism and national development. . . . Mutual love between the ruler and the people has been, is still, and will be in the future, one of the most important causes in bringing about the development and prosperity of the nation."

Japan has never known schism and division in times of crisis. Even during the feudal times, with constant internecine struggles, it needed but a national peril to

consolidate the whole nation around the Emperor. During the years of the Shogunate, while non-Imperial hands held the reins of actual power, they always did so on behalf of the Emperor. There was no design upon the Imperial position, everything in the abstract was his. None of the daimyos owned the land they possessed, it was all the property of the Emperor. It was this fact which made the ending of the feudal system so much less difficult than it would otherwise have been. The memorial in which the feudal lords gave up their lands contained the following remarkable passage :—

“The country where we live is the Emperor’s land : the food which we eat is grown by the Emperor’s men. How can we make it our own ? We now reverently offer up the lists of our possessions and men, with the prayer that the Emperor will take good measures for rewarding those to whom reward is due, and for taking from those to whom punishment is due. Let the Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodelling the territories of the various clans. Let the civil and penal codes, the military laws, all proceed from the Emperor. Let all the affairs of the Empire, great and small, be referred to him.”

Count Okuma has given an illuminating passage dealing with these relations in a recent article. “The reason,” he says, “why we have been able to maintain the same dynasty and have been loyal to each succeeding sovereign is manifest. Unlike Western countries, our Government, even in the earliest times, almost without a single deviation, was a free government under the form of despotism. Even in feudal times, although the common people were looked down upon by the *samurai*, the notion that the people were the chief treasure of the country was not lost sight of. We never find any trace of slavery in our long history. Though there were two classes of pariahs, the *eta* (dirty people) and the *hinin* (not men), they were simply men who followed low professions, such

as tanners, curriers, and gravediggers. The *hinin* were mostly beggars. Freedom from oppression made the people religiously loyal to their sovereign. Not only were they exempt from despotic rule, but some of the emperors made it their chief aim and ambition to increase the welfare and happiness of their subjects."

Why, it may be asked, did so national a people wish ever to adopt the civilization of the West? The Japanese never wished, nor do they now wish, to replace their own civilization by Western ideas. They adopted many of the ideas of the West in order that Japan might remain Japanese, and not the playground of all foreigners. Exclusion and resistance alike failed, and the intense patriotic nationalism of the Japanese, which taught them that they must be more than the equals of the foreigners, led them to take this step. It was an affirmation of nationalism, not a negation, and by it the Japanese scored their greatest success as a nation. The old fundamental ideas remain as a rock upon which is builded the house of modern Japan. A nation without national traditions, were it ever so versed in Western civilization, could not do what Japan has done.

In the old days the Emperor Nintoku (the Virtuous Emperor) lived in poverty, having remitted all taxation for three years in order to lighten the burdens of his people. To him is ascribed the saying, "When heaven sets up a prince in power, it is not for the sake of the holder of the power, but of the people. The people's poverty is my poverty, and their prosperity is my prosperity." This sentiment is held to-day as much as it ever was years ago, and its effects may be seen in the granting to the people of Japan, by the free will of the Emperor, since the Restoration, the constitution assuring full private and public liberty. It must not be overlooked that these concessions, these limitations of the powers of the Emperor, were not forced from the sovereign by wars or rebellions, but were

the natural outcome of the relations between governing and governed. "In one particular," says Count Katsura, "the constitution of Japan has, in the eyes of Japan, a peculiar glory. It was not, as has been the case in many countries, the fruit of a long struggle between the nation and the Throne. It was the gift of the Emperor; freely given, gratefully received—a sacred treasure which both alike will guard with care."

The granting of this constitution by the Emperor is one of the greatest evidences of the solidarity of the national interests and sentiments of rulers and ruled in Japan. No other constitution so amply secures the rights of the sovereign, and at the same time guarantees the rights of subjects, and it has been in use long enough to prove its effectiveness. Japan was a purely feudal country until less than forty years ago, and the Emperor of Japan possessed a position infinitely superior to that of the Tsar when he freely gave to his subjects the constitution which they now enjoy. In no other country has so great a change, affecting the very foundations of the State, been brought about without bloodshed, and for that very reason it is an example worth following.

The first act of the Emperor, on ascending the throne in 1868, was to enunciate the fundamental principles of his government in the form of a solemn oath, which has since then been known as "the Five Articles of the Imperial Oath." The Emperor declared in this oath—

(1) That deliberative assemblies should be established, and all measures of government should be decided by public opinion.

(2) That all classes, high or low, should unite in vigorously carrying out the plan of the government.

(3) Officials, civil and military, and all common people should, as far as possible, be allowed to fulfil their just desires, so that there might not be any discontent among them.

(4) Uncivilized customs of former times should be broken through, and everything should be based upon the just and equitable principle of nature.

(5) That knowledge should be sought for throughout the world, so that the welfare of the empire might be promoted.

This oath has been made the basis of the national policy. How well the Emperor keeps his oath, and how unswervingly his Government and his people have followed the wish expressed by their sovereign, is shown by the subsequent events of their history.

In 1874 an address was issued dealing with the constitution and rules of the deliberative assembly of the local authorities, running as follows :—

“ In accordance with the meaning of the oath taken by Us at the commencement of Our reign, and as a gradual development of its policy, We are convening an Assembly of representatives of the whole nation, so as to ordain laws by help of public discussion, thus opening up the way of harmony between the Government and the governed, and of the accomplishment of the national desires ; and We trust, by insuring to each subject throughout the nation an opportunity of peacefully pursuing his avocation, to awaken them to a sense of the importance of matters of State. We have, therefore, issued this constitution of a Deliberative Assembly, providing for the convening of the chief officials of the different local jurisdictions, and for their meeting and deliberating as representatives of the people. Observe it well, members of the Assembly.”

In April, 1875, the following occurs in an Imperial Proclamation on administrative reform :—

“ Upon consideration, We find that Our assumption of power dates from no far-distant period, and that, as regards the pacification of the interior of Our country, there are by no means few matters that have to be set on foot or newly regulated. Wherefore, We, now extending the

spirit of Our oath, do hereby found the *Genro-in*, and thereby extend the fountain-head of the establishment of laws; and create the *Daisin-in*, and thereby render firm the powers of careful judicial procedure; We likewise call together the local officials, causing them to state the opinions of the people, plan the public welfare, and by degrees set on foot a well-founded political fabric for Our country and homes, We being desirous that each and every one should partake of its benefits."

The approaching opening of the Assembly was the occasion for the following Imperial Address:—

"In accordance with the oath We took upon ascending Our Imperial Throne, We now summon to their deliberations the representatives of Our subjects. It is Our wish that they should amply discuss and determine upon such new measures as may be thought necessary for the welfare of the people, and thus facilitate the administration of Our domestic concerns; and, further, that the Government and the governed may be of one mind, and that the voice of the latter may thus find access to Ourselves. It is hoped that all men may feel a due sense of the duties they owe to the State, and that the chief magistrates of the cities and provinces will maturely consider and well weigh such projects as may be submitted to them for promoting the welfare and advancement of Our Empire."

The specially devised Senate, the *Genro-in*, met on July 5, 1875; and in September of the following year it was announced that, "it is our wish to consider extensively the laws of all foreign countries with reference to Our National Constitution, and thereby to determine Our constitutional law." The fixing in 1881 of the date at which a Parliament should be established was contained in this proclamation:—

"We . . . have long had it in view to establish gradually a constitutional form of Government, to the end, that Our descendants on the throne may be provided with

a rule for their guidance. It was with this object in view that, in the 8th year of Meiji, we established the Senate, and in the 11th year of Meiji authorized the formation of local Assemblies, thus laying the foundation for the general reforms which we contemplate. These, Our acts, must convince you, Our subjects, of Our determination in this respect from the beginning. . . . We, therefore, hereby declare that We shall, in the 23rd year of Meiji (1890), establish a Parliament in order to carry into full effect the determination we have announced."

The constitution was promulgated on February 11, 1889, and the Imperial proclamation runs:—

"The rights of Sovereignty of the State We have inherited from Our ancestors, and we shall bequeath them to Our descendants; neither we nor they shall in future fail to wield them in accordance with the provisions of the Constitutions hereby given and granted. We now declare that We will protect and respect the security of the rights and of the prosperity of our people, and secure to them the complete enjoyment of the same within the extent of the provisions of the present Constitution and of the law. . . . We will thereby give greater firmness to the stability of Our country and promote the welfare of all the people within the boundaries of Our dominions; and We now establish the Imperial House Law and the Constitution. These laws are really only an exposition of the grand precepts for the conduct of the Government bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House, and by Our other Imperial ancestors."

Thus the constitution came into being, and has continued ever since. The elected Assembly has shown many of the faults of inexperienced law-makers, but an elected and representative Chamber has been maintained. In Japan the franchise is restricted, only because it is considered necessary that a man should be educated to think before he is given a vote.

That the principal points of the constitution affecting the sovereign and the liberty of the people are not such as need alarm the most conservative of monarchs, may be judged by the following remarks of Marquis Ito, who was the framer of the Japanese constitution. His most vital comment with regard to the Emperor's position is the following :—

“The Sacred Throne of Japan is inherited from Imperial ancestors, and it is bequeathed to posterity ; in it resides the power to reign over and govern the State. That express provisions concerning the sovereign power are specially mentioned in the articles of the Constitution in no wise implies that any newly settled opinion thereon is set forth by the Constitution ; on the contrary, the original national policy is by no means changed by it, but it is more strongly confirmed than ever.”

Dealing with the express provisions, he says : “The Emperor is Heaven-descended, divine, and sacred ; he is pre-eminent above all his subjects. He must be revered, and is inviolable. He has, indeed, to pay respect to the law, but the law has no power to hold him accountable to it. Not only shall there be no irreverence for the Emperor's person, but he shall not be made a topic of derogatory comment nor one of discussion. The sovereign power of reigning over and governing the State is inherited by the Emperor from his ancestors, and by him bequeathed to his posterity. All the different legislative, as well as executive, powers of State, by means of which he reigns over the country and governs the people, are united in this most exalted personage, who thus holds in his hands, as it were, all the ramifying threads of the political life of the country. His Imperial Majesty has himself determined a Constitution, and has made it a fundamental law to be observed both by the Sovereign and by the people. He has, further, made it clear that every provision in the said Constitution shall be conformed to without failure or

negligence. The sanction of a law, the causing of the same to be promulgated in a proper form, and the ordering of the taking of measures for the execution of the same—all these belong to the sovereign power of the Emperor. Sanction completes the process of legislation, while promulgation produces binding force upon the subjects. . . . Sanction is a manifestation of the sovereign powers of the Emperor in matters of legislation. Consequently, without the sanction of the Emperor, no project can become law, even if it has received the consent of the Diet. . . . The convocation of the Diet appertains exclusively to the sovereign power of the Emperor."

The supreme authority in military and naval affairs is vested in His Most Exalted Personage, and these affairs are subject to the commands issued by the Emperor. The organization and the peace standing of the army and navy are determined by the Emperor. It is true that this power is exercised with the advice of responsible Ministers of State ; still, like the Imperial military command, it nevertheless belongs to the sovereign power of the Emperor, and no interference in it by the Diet should be allowed. Declarations of war, conclusions of peace, and of treaties with foreign countries, are the exclusive rights of the Sovereign, concerning which no consent of the Diet is required. For, in the first place, it is desirable that a monarch should manifest the unity of the sovereign power that represents the State in its intercourse with foreign Powers ; and, in the second, in war and treaty matters, promptness in forming plans according to the nature of the crisis is of paramount importance. By "treaties" is meant treaties of peace and friendship, of commerce and of alliance. These sovereign powers are operative in every direction, unless restricted by the express provisions of the constitution, just as the light of sun shines everywhere, unless it is shut out by a screen. So these sovereign powers do not depend for their

existence upon the enumeration of them in successive clauses. In the constitution is given a general outline of the sovereign powers: and, as to the particulars touching them, only the essential points are stated, in order to give a general idea of what they are. Not even the most arrogant monarch, the most exigent Tsar, could ask for greater powers than are possessed by the Emperor of Japan. By such a constitution the position of the monarch is more defined and infinitely better founded, since the people, secure in their liberties, give love where otherwise they would only give fear.

A brief survey of the rights of the people in Japan shows how adequately these are safeguarded by the constitution. The franchise is a limited one, the limitations being fixed by the amount of taxes paid, but every subject possesses full civil legal rights. From the age of seventeen until that of forty all male subjects are placed on the military rolls, and are liable for service. Concerning this, Marquis Ito writes: "Japanese subjects are of the elements that make up the Japanese empire. They are to protect the existence, the independence, and the glory of the country. . . . Every male adult in the whole country shall be compelled, without distinction of class or family, to fulfil, in accordance with the provisions of law, his duty of serving in the army, that he may be incited to valour while his body undergoes physical training, and that in this way the martial spirit of the country shall be maintained and secured from decline." All subjects must also pay taxes, these being considered as "the contributive share of each subject to the public expenditure of the State. It is neither benevolence paid in response to exaction, nor a remuneration for certain favours which have been received upon a neutral understanding." Both these last two items show very clearly how the duties of citizens are regarded.

Liberty of abode and of changing the same is guaranteed.

Every Japanese subject is now free to fix his residence permanently or temporarily, to hire dwelling-places, or to engage in business at any place within the boundaries of the empire. That it is provided in the constitution that this liberty can be restricted by law alone, and that it shall be put beyond the reach of administrative measures, show how highly the said liberty is estimated. Personal liberty is guaranteed. Arrest, confinement, and trial can be carried out only under cases mentioned in the law, and according to the rules mentioned therein; and no ill conduct whatever can be punished but in accord. No case shall be brought before a police official, but before some judicial authority; defence shall also be permitted, and trial shall be conducted openly. There is also a necessary provision for the protection of individual rights. The constitution, therefore, does not suffer encroachment upon the judicial power or denial of the right of individuals, by the establishment of any extraordinary tribunal or commission, other than by the competent court fixed by law. The judges established by law shall deal impartially between litigating parties, free from restraints of power; and every subject shall be able to contend in a court of law with the high and mighty, and, giving his version of the case, defend against prosecuting officials.

That the trials are publicly conducted, and that the parties are orally examined in public, are most effective guarantees for the rights of the people. There are two stages in every criminal proceeding—preliminary examination, and trial. The word "trial" as here used does not include in its meaning preliminary examination. Even in special cases, "judgment and pronouncement of sentence are always to be in public." "Except in the cases provided for by law, the secrecy of the letters of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate." "The inviolable nature of private dwellings is guaranteed; . . . not only are private persons forbidden to enter the abodes

of other people, without the consent of the occupants, but also any police, judicial, or revenue official, . . . otherwise than in cases specified by law and in accordance with the provisions of such law." "The right of property of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate." The right of property is under the powers of the State. It ought, therefore, to be subordinated to the restrictions of the law. It is indeed inviolable, but it is not unrestricted. As to restrictions upon the right of property, the constitution abundantly testifies that they must always be fixed by law, and that they are beyond the control of ordinances.

Freedom of religious belief is complete, and is exempt from all restrictions, so long as manifestations of it are confined to the mind ; yet with regard to external matters, such as forms of worship and the mode of propagandism, certain necessary restrictions of law or regulations must be provided for ; and, besides, the general duties of subjects must be observed. Any restrictions must, however, be determined by law, and lie beyond the sphere of ordinances. Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of the law, enjoy liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings, and associations.

The constitution is replete with proof of the dominance of the national feeling, both in the minds of the Emperor and of his people. To the Japanese, nationalism has no narrow, no selfish meaning ; it is inherent. It is not antagonistic to any other nation ; it is without any prejudices ; and Japan's rapid strides are due to its virtues as a nation.

Where has this intense national solidarity led Japan, and what proofs are there that such national impulse is superior to the isolated action of several millions of people ? The events of 1904 and 1905 are sufficient demonstration of the value of being a nation. A force which can lift an unknown feudal country to the foremost rank of a great power in a short half-century has amply demonstrated its worth. The late Bishop Bickersteth, of Tokyo, writing in

1895 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—a sufficient guarantee for undue partiality—said—

“The success of Japan has been due to her own good qualities—to the honesty which, during twenty years of preparations, duly expended the national revenue on the public service; to the quick-witted intelligence which not only adapted, but learned, during the same period, how to use the inventions and discoveries of the West; and to the patriotism which burns in all Japanese hearts alike, only more intensely since the Revolution of 1868, and which unites all who speak the Japanese language under one sovereign and one political administration. In these regards Japan is alone among Eastern nations. It is not too much to say that no honest administration of public funds, on a large scale, has till now been known in any Eastern country. . . . Devotion to their Emperor and country is an instinctive feeling in the hearts of Japanese men and women alike. . . . The Japanese people . . . possess the activity of body and mind which is the endowment of the people of temperate climes. . . . Still less are they to be considered an uncivilized Eastern race with a mere veneer of Western manners and culture. . . . They have a civilization of their own: . . . it is, in its own way, as real as our own; it has its own standards and canons of thought and taste and feeling, its own manners and customs, its own ideals and hopes. Greatly as it may be indebted now and in the future to Western literature and education, and eagerly as it adopts the inventions of Western science, these will not radically change it, . . . the result will not be a Western nation in the Orient, but an Eastern nation, or rather Japan; for this country is alone among the nations of the East, with certain new means and methods at her disposal, but in pith and fibre the same people with the same national characteristics and like mental endowments and modes of thought and life to-day as yesterday.”

In the war with Russia, perhaps nothing opened the eyes of the world to Japan's progress more than the fall of Port Arthur, and although it was in reality one of the less vital proofs of the wonderful ability of the Japanese nation, circumstances combined to give it a great importance in foreign eyes. When the flag of the Rising Sun rose upon the forts of Port Arthur, the sun of Russia's Asiatic empire sank in blood-red glory, and the Far Eastern peoples had demonstrated their right to decide the fate of Far Eastern lands. And far more than that, a new world Power had thrust itself upon the world in a manner not to be ignored. Russia, the leviathan before which European nations had shrunk for fifty years, not knowing why, had been forced to give up her warm-water Asiatic port, to obtain which her agents had allowed no scruples of honour or fair dealing to hinder them. And the nation which had forced her to give it up was one which only forty short years ago was treated as a barbarous, uncivilized country, to be argued with with cannon and musket, rather than diplomatic notes. The Cinderella of ten years ago had become the proud princess of to-day. It was reserved for the German Emperor, prophet of the Yellow Peril, and one of the anti-Japanese *triplice* of 1894, to publicly acknowledge Japan's new position in the world. By his decoration of General Nogi equally with General Stoessel, he proclaimed to the world that he now acknowledged the equality of the nations. The fall of Port Arthur will take its place in history as the fact which has demonstrated, beyond the powers of argument, the fallacy of the artificial barriers between races and between continents. No longer can the white races of Europe sit above the salt while the nations of Asia sit below. Japan, a brown race, a nation of Asia, has demonstrated her right to sit above, and, as she has done so by the force of arms, Western civilization acknowledges her claim. Thus Port Arthur stands for the proof that a nation does not become

great because of the colour of its population or because of its geographical position, but because of the power within it. The importance of this destruction of racial superiority, one of the world's most treasured fallacies, upon which the whole superstructure of more than one great State have been raised, cannot be over-estimated. It is a very valuable lesson for the nations of Europe to learn, although that will not make the task more pleasant. From the beginning of 1905 dates the new era, in which nations must produce suitable works to entitle them to play a great *rôle* in the world, and that, be they peopled by men with white skins, with brown skins, black skins, or yellow skins. The unquestioned and undisputed domination claimed by the West over the East has vanished for ever in the hauling down of the Russian flag on Golden Hill. It is most illogical that a war between two Powers, one of which, although nominally European, has little in common with Europe and much in common with the worst elements of Asia, and the other, although nominally Asiatic, has little in common with Asia, should for ever dispel the idea that European peoples have the right to tyrannize over the rest of the world. But it must not be forgotten, and herein may lie the danger, that it is not because Japan is an Asiatic country, or because the Japanese skin is brown, that she has become what she has. It is due to a far more worthy reason than either of these ; it is because of the unceasing labour, the unwearying effort of the Japanese people to make Japan great, and themselves worthy of a great Japan. Unless the people of a nation are prepared to do this, they have no hope of permanent greatness. If Japan's triumph demonstrates one thing more than any other, it is the absolute necessity for national efficiency, achieved by the unanimous effort of the entire people. Japan teaches the world the lesson that thoroughness and efficiency, broad-mindedness, and a readiness to learn are possessions which far outweigh

any artificial superiorities raised up by an arrogant cluster of differing nations as a standard whereby they may judge others. The historian of the future will regard Port Arthur's capitulation as a red-letter mark to divide the period of narrow parochial international ideas from that of the birth of true internationalism, which is not guided by the paint on atlases or the coloured pigment in the human skin. Before January, 1905, the world was suffering from the autocracy of the white races, just as Russia was suffering from the bureaucratic autocracy of the Tsardom ; after January, 1905, the world began to realize that all its elements showing themselves capable have a right to govern the world's destinies and to regard themselves as equal to any other element, should they be equal in intelligence and ability. Japan has not only ensured to the people of Russia liberty unknown before the fall of Port Arthur, but has accomplished the far greater work of liberating the world from an autocracy, of which, whatever it may have accomplished of good in the past, it must be said that it is cramping and harmful to the world of to-day. It was as though Russia had been providentially moved to provide Japan with an opportunity of proving her progress, at Port Arthur.

Such is but one result of Japanese national solidarity, and the Japanese do not exercise their national impulses save after due thought and along the most practical lines. Regulated patriotism is a force, unregulated it would be chaos.

CHAPTER II

PATRIOTISM

A SPIRIT of fervent patriotism has always been one of the most highly prized treasures of the Japanese nation. A vital part of every man's being, lived, not professed, it has very little in common with that feebly intermittent, and at best theoretical, sentiment which has to serve its turn in the nations of the West. In Japan, patriotism is the cornerstone of the national existence ; it is the flame illuminating every heart from palace to farmer's hut, and providing the motive power for all national action. Commander Hirose, the Japanese naval hero of Port Arthur, before his death, penned the following verse, in which is shown very clearly this dominant sentiment of the Japanese people :—

“Boundless like the dome of Heaven above
Is what we owe to our Emperor ;
Fathomless as the deep sea below
Is what we owe to our country.
Now is the time to repay what we owe.”

Thousands of years of existence as a national unit has developed the patriotism and the loyalty of the Japanese to the present intensity. Everything else falls before this guiding motive : bushido is but the handmaid of patriotism and loyalty, shinto is its outward expression along religious lines ; and unless the patriotism and loyalty of the Japanese are understood, the nation will ever remain a closed book.

Under the influence of this pervading force, the

Japanese nation becomes as a solid unit at the first sign of danger threatening the existence or well-being of the State. "With regard to matters of national defence, a single day's neglect may involve a century's regret." In this short sentence the Emperor of Japan sums up the national policy and feeling of his country. By national defences in Japan, however, there is not meant the mere naval and military bulwarks with which European nations have been content to fortify themselves, and which, from their point of view, constitute the only national defences. In Japan the term has a much wider, and, it must be confessed, a much truer meaning; for it is taken to include the preservation to the country of everything that might be threatened by foreign influences. The safeguarding of Japanese trade by an efficient consular service, or of Japanese maritime enterprise by a navigation bounty, is just as much a part of the national defences as the prevention of invasion by a foreign foe. And it is to this interpretation of the meaning of the Emperor's phrase that must be attributed much of the wonderful progress of the country.

Patriotism alone is an immense national force, both because of its universal character and because of its practical nature, but it is when allied with loyalty to the Emperor that it becomes omnipotent in mundane affairs. The country they love and the Emperor they revere are coexistent to the Japanese mind, and cannot be separated. Both have existed when the ancestors of the present generation of Japanese loved and revered the ancestors of their ruler, and the influence of the spirits of the ancestors will always be an enormous factor in maintaining the close union between patriotism and loyalty.

"The whole nation," says Mr. Okakura, "is bound by the sacred tie of a common belief and thought; there is a great gap between the Chinese cult of fatalism and the cult of the Japanese, considered as moral forces. The

Throne has always been sacred, and no attempt on its formal occupation was ever made even by the powerful Shoguns, who had been the real rulers of the country. They knew how dangerous it would be to tamper with the great principle on which the religious spirit of the nation centred." There is a poem by Sanetomo, the third Shogun of Kamakura, and second son of the first Shogun, which may be translated literally as follows :—

" The sea may dry up,
The mountain may burst asunder,
But no duplicity of thought
Shall I have to my sovereign."

" Patriotism," writes one of the Imperial General Staff, "is the religion of Japan. The spirits whom Japan worships, whether in the family or the State, are its own ancestors, and one of the most striking ceremonies of the religious life of the country is the great festival of the *Yasukuni Jinja*, with its homage paid to the names of the soldiers who have died in honour of their country. In this worship, and in the spirit of religious patriotism which it evokes—a spirit which has been zealously fostered by the teachers of the ancient Bushido, or 'Way of the Knights'—the whole nation is united as a man, and no Japanese would hesitate in choosing between a breach of patriotism or death."

The result of this feeling of religious patriotism has been that, while the military authorities could count with certainty on the bravery and devotion of the armies on the field of battle, the central Government could lay aside all care as to any disaffection or disloyalty at home. The nation is a unit, and this unity, this practical side of patriotism, has enabled Japan to gather from all the world of its best, and, absorbing it, to evolve of the whole a purely national product.

" When the Japanese come in contact with a foreign civilization," says Baron Kaneko, " they always go through

three stages of evolution: First, they pass through the stage of imitation. At this period they imitate everything that comes from a foreign source, and, I might say, they blindly copy. But after some years of imitation they arrive at a stage of adaption; then at last they reach the stage of origination. These three stages are clearly shown by our history, if we only examine into the inner workings of the Japanese mind."

Less confident peoples hesitate to adopt new ideas, fearing they may shake the solidity of the national structure: the Japanese know that the national strength is capable of taking in everything that is good. The love of Japan held by her people is marred by no doubts that she may not be worthy of so much devotion. For Japanese patriotism is a belief founded upon a confidence which thousands of years of existence have developed.

Naturally there are, and have been, differences among the various sections of the Japanese nation, but they are ineffective when exposed to the binding force of patriotism. The nation is not rent by schisms and divisions, but is always unanimous on essentials, however factions may differ on details. All the leaders are inspired by the same moral ideas, by the same fervent aspirations for the national well-being. What is true of the nation at large is true also of the political element, which, under the constitution, assists in the guiding of the national destinies. Matters of vital importance are never made the sport of party politics.

Representative Government in Japan has been accompanied by many stormy scenes in the Lower House, and none were more violent than those before the outbreak of the Chinese War. But when that common danger threatened, from a position of absolute isolation the Government was at once supported by the whole of the opposition as well as by the entire nation. The members from most of

the constituencies came up with mandates enjoining them to use every effort to strengthen the hands of the Administration in the life-and-death struggle with a foreign foe. Almost every able editor in Japan strenuously advocated the same course. So it was that, at the very time when men boded, if not actual civil war, at least serious intestine commotions, from Kyushyu to Hokkaido, there was but one mind and will and purpose in the nation. Never before, since the opening of the country, had Japan presented such a united front.

A still more striking example was afforded by the action of the political parties after a coalition of European powers had been allowed by the Government to snatch away the fruits of victory obtained by that war. The nation was hurt to the heart, national pride had received a terrible insult, yet the progressive party in the Diet issued an important *pronunciamento* declaring that they, as the opposition, were with the Government on all matters of national importance. "The reason," they said, "why this country alone, among the nations of Asia, is able to maintain its position on an equal footing with the powers of Europe, is that it stands on a firm basis of morality. . . . Another reason is the fact that both the Government and the people have been united in the firm consciousness that the nation was waging a righteous war." In conclusion, the party urged strongly upon all patriotic citizens the necessity of harmony and disinterested co-operation to preserve peace and strengthen the Government at home, so as to present a united resistance to foreign enemies. "The situation in the East," they said, "is daily proving more and more serious, and it is imperatively necessary to unite the people and nourish our national strength."

War produces a strain upon a nation greater than any other single cause ; but the war with China showed Japan as a united nation, and the war with Russia more than

maintained that reputation. The political parties coalesced and worked loyally for the good of the country. Vast sums of money were voted, with no opposition to the amounts demanded, even when the means of raising them met with criticism.

The beginning of the war saw the establishment of a special advisory council, composed of the elder statesmen, who were placed between the Emperor and the Cabinet to assist both with the results of their long experience. The Privy Council was made into a real council, and the hands of the Government were strengthened by the support of the leading statesmen of the country, co-operating regardless of party feelings.

In Japan, matters of foreign policy are not made the chance playthings of changing Governments. The foreign policy is a stable thing, continuous and far-reaching, and does not change with the administration. There has been serious consideration as to the advisability of continuing the Foreign Minister from one Cabinet to another, and though this has not yet been done, foreign policy is already a matter quite outside party influence or wrangling, and domestic matters are not mingled with, or allowed to influence, national affairs.

The elder statesmen and the younger politicians are at one on the necessity of co-operation for the advancement of national interests. The private union always existing makes national union and co-operation easy in times of emergency. Marquis Yamagata, speaking at the opening of the first session of Japan's Parliament, said: "It is our common object to maintain the independence and to extend the prestige of the country. The attainment of this object should not only never be lost sight of by the Government, but also all the subjects of the empire should, whatever changes may hereafter take place in the political world, work in harmony, and, uniting their different paths of progress, should advance along one and the same route,

to the end that they may not fail to attain eventually their common object."

Marquis Ito, Japan's greatest statesman, has never ceased from impressing on his countrymen the supreme necessity of unity. "In view of the duties it owes to the State," he says, "a political party ought to make it its primary object to devote its whole energies to the public weal. In order to improve and infuse life and vigour into the administrative machinery of the country, so as to enable it to keep up with the general progress of the nation, it is necessary that the administrative officials should be recruited, under a system of definite qualifications, from among capable men of proper attainments and experience, irrespective of whether they belong to a political party or not. It is absolutely necessary that caution should be taken to avoid falling into the fatal mistake of giving official posts to men of doubtful qualifications, simply because they belong to a particular political party. In considering the questions affecting the interests of local or other corporate bodies, the decision must always be guided by considerations of the general good of the public, and of the relative importance of those questions. In no case should the support of a political party be given for the promotion of any partial interests, in response to considerations of local connections or under the corrupt influences of interested persons. If a political party aims, as it should aim, at being a guide to the people, it must first commence with maintaining strict discipline and order in its own ranks, and, above all, with shaping its own conduct with an absolute and sincere devotion to the public interests of the country. . . . They should further try to avoid all unnecessary friction amongst themselves, or in their dealings with others, all such friction being likely to endanger the social fabric of the country. Above all, we must always place the national interests before the transient interests of a political party."

Before leaving this question of political unity it is reassuring to find that, while there is perfect co-operation and support of the Government in time of national danger, healthy opposition is maintained by the political parties in more opportune times. In the words of Marquis Saionji, a term is much in fashion in Japan in these days, which needs some description. That term is "kio-koku-itchi," or the united action of the nation. "It is the term most expressive of our patriotism, and as such it is naturally to be commended. It is a matter of course that in a crisis the nation must be united, as a political party must also be united. But we must be careful to understand the term in no negative sense. We must be united in action after fully understanding the situation and the measures to be adopted—intelligently and not ignorantly. To adopt blindly whatever the Government told is not true united action."

This was borne out by the resolution adopted by the Seiyukai, the political party of which the Marquis is the leader. This ran: "The present Cabinet having failed to properly conduct domestic as well as foreign affairs, thereby causing great anxiety in the minds of the people as to the future of the Constitutional Government, reason exists why this party should endeavour to make it clear on whom the responsibility for the mal-administration rests. But now that the Imperial Rescript declaring war has been issued and the State of affairs is such as the nation has never before witnessed, it is therefore resolved that the party, in view of the gravity of the situation, decide to postpone the solution of the unsettled questions till the arrival of a proper time, and not oppose the defrayment of the expenses necessary for the attainment of the object for which the war is being waged."

The educational system of the country is also made a great patriotic factor—the moral instructions taught from the Emperor's speech on education are intensely patriotic

—and the teachers and pupils alike realize the value of the school in making for progress. Physical training is made much of, because the future physical condition of the Japanese race must be efficient and able to support the nation in the ever-increasing physical struggle for existence. Desire to avoid stunted physique in future generations is the patriotic motive in the restrictive legislation of tobacco-smoking under the age of twenty, and the imposition of penalties, not alone upon the boy, but upon the tobacco-dealer and the parent of the culprit.

The spirit in which the education of Japan is conducted may be seen from the following announcement for a teachers' convention at Kyoto in 1895. It ran :—

“The sole aim of education is to establish a foundation for the social system by means of the development of the abundance of our national wealth on the one hand and the expansion of the national power abroad. Now that the war between Japan and China has showed the dignity and power of our country to other nations, the national fortunes are to be increased by commercial and industrial pursuits. The spirit of patriotism which has been nourished for 2,500 years has at last found an opportunity to exhibit itself, and now there is a chance for the educators to stimulate the nationality and nourish the national power as a grateful act of appreciation of this glorious period.”

The following series of resolutions was adopted by the public-school teachers of Tokyo in convention, in 1895 :—

(1) The national idea and patriotism should be stimulated among the pupils of the public schools.

(2) The Japanese alphabet and style of composition should be simplified:

(3) The education of women should be encouraged.

(4) Military training and physical culture should be more prominent.

In the local government of the country, as well as in the schools, patriotism is taught and the duties of citizenship

encouraged. "The citizens of Japanese cities, towns, or villages are obliged to fill any honorary office to which they may be elected or appointed." In this way there is no possibility of the best citizens keeping out of politics—a state of things which is so prejudicial to political efficiency in America. The punishment for declining public or official service is not merely a fine—such as, for instance, that imposed under certain conditions at the election of sheriffs in the city of London,—but those who decline to serve are "subjected to suspension of citizenship for from three to six years, together with an additional levy, during the same period, of from one-eighth to one-fourth more of their ordinary share of contribution to the city expenditure."

The calls for the reserves during the war were responded to without any defection, the men leaving their work cheerfully, and going to the *depôts* encouraged by the approval of their families. In many cases pathetic incidents are recorded of the manner in which obstacles in the way of fulfilling the duties of reservists were overcome. One of the reservists of the Imperial Guard was an itinerant medicine vendor, and at the time of the call to arms was away from home. The mother went to the district office and obtained a few hours' grace, sold kitchen utensils for some 48 sen (one shilling), and set out in search of the reservist, sending his younger brother in another direction. Being unsuccessful, she pawned some clothes for one yen, and continued her search far and wide. At last, finding her son, she brought him back to Tokyo a little late, but still in time. She gave him, when he left for the front, a lock of her hair, and an old book on military tactics! This is the spirit which makes Japan what she is—a spirit which not only makes the people ready to do their duty, but anxious and determined of its fulfilment. The spirit of self-sacrifice is universal, for the highest and lowest classes alike shoulder their national responsibilities,

and imperial princes fight in the field with their countrymen of all classes. The soldiers are billeted impartially in the houses of the highest nobility or of the common people, according to available space. The people, even the poorest, add what they can to the soldiers' bare rations, and make much of them ; there is nothing but the best of feelings between them.

"It is this temper," says Baron Kaneko, "and spirit that inspire her whole people. The feeling aroused throughout the empire by our just war with Russia was shown by the fact, that when the Government issued its first war-loan, the amount was subscribed for five times over. Moreover, from all parts of our island empire the contributions to the war-fund came in—first by the gift of the Emperor's gold-chest, then followed by the ancient Daimyo nobility, and the wealthy classes. The farmer, labourer, the tradesman, and the servant eagerly handed in their savings. The very school-children, hoarding up their small pocket-money, and adding to it the small sums given them by their parents for the purchase of books or school implements, also carried their offerings to the Treasury department. When a soldier or sailor was sent to the front, his family was taken care of by his neighbours or by his village community. Landlords made it a rule not to collect the rent from his family, and doctors volunteered to treat the sick in his family without charge. Furthermore, in anticipation of the many thousand widows and orphans, a relief fund association was established, to which contributions amounting to £260,000 were quickly made. Nor was the patriotism artificially stimulated by fantastic belief in immediate success. The official reports of successes were strictly moderate in tone, and no opportunity was lost of impressing upon the people in the plainest terms the true seriousness of the great struggle."

It is a patriotism of calm confidence in unshakable determination. The surface of the national existence is

barely ruffled, however deeply the under-currents may be affected. An announcement to intending travellers was issued by the presidents of the various chambers of commerce in which the normal continuation of national life was pointed out. In it occurred this paragraph: "No change in any of the conditions, no dislocation of any of the facilities, resulted from the outbreak of war between Japan and Russia. On the contrary, to the many objects of interest which invite inspection in normal years, there was added the remarkable spectacle of an insular people preserving a demeanour of absolute calm and imperturbability while engaged in a struggle for life or death with the greatest of Continental military powers. Since the outbreak of this war, as well as during the period of suspense that preceded it, the quiet self-possessed attitude of the Japanese people has been a theme of constant admiration and surprise to foreign onlookers, and has been described in eulogistic terms by foreign journalists. In truth, the country is just as it has always been."

Neither were there any disturbances in the financial and economic conditions, if we may believe the Governor of the Bank of Japan, when he said, in 1904: "There has not been any violent economic vicissitude, and we have been able to maintain our progress in productive enterprise. This is due to the solidity of the people's resources, and to their patriotic spirit; and also it should be remembered that our system of convertible currency has contributed in no small degree to this happy result. To what future period the war may continue it is impossible to form any estimate. But our economic circles have already adapted their attitude to their belligerent situation, and our industries are moving on in response to its demands. The experiences garnered make it clear that our forces may prosecute the struggle without anxiety as to ways and means. I believe that hereafter the whole nation, with ever-united strength and fortitude, will continue to develop a spirit of endurance,

and, each contributing his share, will help to promote the attainment of the cardinal policy of the State."

The soldiers and sailors of Japan have given example after example of patriotism and devotion to their country. The example of Commander Hirose, who lost his life in the attempt to block the entrance to Port Arthur, will live always in the annals of that country, and will afford a brilliant page in the history of the world. When Captain Hirose died, his elder brother telegraphed to his wife: "My best-beloved younger brother, Takeo, was in the rank of *yushi* (a title given to a man chosen because of special bravery) to blockade Port Arthur on the 27th of March. He did his utmost, and was killed. Chief Commander Togo and others gave me their heartfelt sympathy, and Admiral Togo especially invited me to come to him. How deeply the spirit of our ancestors must rejoice to see that such a brave one has appeared in our family! His death is only a glory to our family—please be at ease."

Here is a verse composed and penned by Commander Takeo Hirose, in Chinese, just before he went to his doom. Translated into English, it runs as follows:—

"Would that I could be born seven times
And sacrifice my life for my country;
Resolved to die, my mind is firm,
And again expecting to win success,
Smiling I go on board."

This shows the fortitude and determination of a Bushi of to-day in the hour of his exit from this life.

That there is no thoughtless determination to die, such as is demonstrated by uneducated fanatics, is shown by the address given by Lieut.-Commander Yuasa to his men before leading an attack. They contain the essence of the practical devotion and patriotism of the Japanese soldiers and sailors. He said: "Let every man set aside all thought of making a name for himself, but let us all work together for the attainment of our object. . . . It is

a mistaken idea of valour to court death unnecessarily. Death is not our object, but success, and we die in vain if we do not attain it. Let us keep at it to the last man, until we have done what we can."

"In performing your duty," commanded Captain Yashiro, in his final charge to the volunteers on board the warship *Asama*, "if you happen to lose your left hand, work with your right; if you lose both hands, work with both feet; if you lose both feet, work with your head. Execute your duty regardless of your life." The same officer wrote after the battle of Chemulpo: "I thank you for your letter of congratulation, but my special purpose in coming was to destroy that ship (the *Variag*); therefore, had I failed, it would have been a shame to live in this world as a man. I had determined in that case not to live."

That the courage of the soldiers and sailors is no unthinking instinct, but the result of a true spirit of devotion, is shown by the fact that they know what fear is, and yet rise superior to it. An old samurai said, "People may think we samurai like war, but we don't. We only fight because duty impels us." And he confessed that he awoke every morning with such a weight of dread and responsibility that he could only arouse himself to the duties of the day with great effort.

One who has distinguished himself at the front wrote: "You may say what you will of bravery, but there is scarcely a man who would not, deep down in his heart, prefer to be slightly wounded and sent home, not to return to the field; but when we are brought face to face with duty, we can only meet it with all the courage that is in us."

The whole army and navy of Japan is actuated by the same dominating sentiment, patriotism is the blood in the veins of their soul. Every common soldier may be trusted to do his duty, and more than his duty, with all his strength.

Orders are given with a certainty that they will be carried out efficiently. Professor Ukita wrote concerning this—

“What are the leading elements in the national spirit? They are three: loyalty, patriotism, and progressiveness—a desire for national development. Had the latter of these qualities been wanting, modern Japan would never have come into existence. . . . That one of the chief causes of our success in this war is the determination of our troops to die rather than yield or suffer defeat, nobody disputes. To die as a duty to one’s country is morally a higher achievement than to die for personal fame, which is mere egoism.”

Major-General Sato, a soldier of eminent distinction, who won laurels for himself in the Chinese War, wrote—

“In the matter of the number of men engaged in this present war, the knowledge of the art of war, and the material at the disposal of the combatants, there is not so very much difference between the Russians and ourselves. In things material the two nations are very evenly matched. But we possess a mental asset of immense value, which is lacking among our foes, and that is, the spirit of our troops.”

Much may be learned of the actual sentiments and feelings of the fighters by the two following instances, which reflect upon the spirit animating the soldiers and the sailors. The following letter was written by an officer at the front to his brother, a few days after the battle of Taipeh-shan. He was then a sub-lieutenant, and the standard-bearer of a regiment. Afterwards, on the 24th of August, he, then a lieutenant, with a company, penetrated to a fort at Port Arthur, and was severely wounded.

“To-day I received your letter of July 24th, and was thrillingly touched by your word—‘To every man death comes soon or late, yet it is a noble and beautiful thing voluntarily to lay down one’s life for the call of his duty.’ I will do my best, and you must not grieve if I change

into a spirit at Port Arthur. Even though my perishable body may never be more seen in this world, I shall not forget 'loyalty to our Emperor for seven lives.' Several times I have been in terrible engagements. Before each one I washed my body, and with a clean body and free mind I went calmly into the fight."

Describing a repulsed attack and its renewal, the officer writes: "Just then the strains of our national anthem arose from the left wing of our army. Cheered and encouraged, we overthrew the enemy, who somewhat appeared to give way, and sprang over the rampart in high spirit. A hand-to-hand fight ensued; but who dare say that the 'fresh bullets' inspired by *Yamato*-spirit can not crush an enemy, however mighty they may be? Soon we routed them, and they ran towards the main fortifications of Port Arthur. At daybreak the flag of the Rising Sun arose high above the heap of the enemy's dead. Everybody forgot the strain and exertion of the furious fight in the joy of victory and in shouting *Banzai!* Yet at this moment I sadly shed unconscious tears over the loss of my comrades. . . . I often recall the beautiful landscape of my country, and delight in the remembrance of the happy life of my childhood. But deliver me from such nonsense! Our country is now in great trouble, and we soldiers are called to sacrifice our lives to the good of the nation, who hope for the return of peace through us. Any amount of pain and suffering may fall on us, yet we will welcome them with all our hearts." He concludes: "To-night the moon does not appear, and the sky is pitch dark, and I think that the assault of to-morrow will be my last fight. I made a little box out of an empty bullet-box. I intend this for my coffin. This box will go with me to-morrow to the battle-line. If I fall, you will receive it with my bones."

First-class warrant officer Matsugoro Manda, a naval engineer, was captured by the Russians from a vessel sent

to block the channel at Port Arthur by sinking in the fairway. To quote his own words : "The Russians asked me whether I could speak French. I remained silent. They then asked me if I could speak English. At first I felt bored, and remained silent ; but as it would be considered a shame for a Japanese bluejacket not to know a foreign language, I then said I could speak English a little." What a revelation, not only of *esprit de corps* of Japanese bluejackets, but that these feel that they are expected to know at least one foreign language ! This engineer's later actions are also very significant. Into his room in the hospital two Japanese were brought. "They were men from the blocking steamer, *Sagami Maru*, and though I could not move, my left hand being slung to the ceiling, I gave them injunctions not to divulge our military secrets. Having received satisfactory answers from these two men, I fell asleep." On another occasion he undertook the same patriotic task, and admonished a second-class warrant officer to keep silence. "This was not the time to indulgence in repentance," he says, "and I sternly enjoined Yonekura that whatever happened to him he should not divulge any secrets of our navy. I was deeply gratified to receive from him an answer in a strong affirmative." But Matsugoro Manda did not confine his fears of information leaking out to his fellows ; he refused to take chloroform for an operation on his hand, and says : "I was afraid that whilst delirious I might divulge information useful to the Russians. I asked my neighbours, therefore, to awaken me if I should at any time become delirious." When the fortress fell, this Japanese was not wholly happy. As he says, "I was, of course, glad of the success of our arms, but at the same time I was afraid to meet our officers, the shame of having become a prisoner, and not having died a heroic death at the mouth of the harbour, exceedingly troubled me. I also wondered what reception our officers would accord us. . . . I, on the

behalf of the prisoners, congratulated our officers on the fall of Port Arthur, and said that we were sorry at having been captured by the enemy, and were afraid that our conduct might have dishonoured our country."

Intelligent pride of race and country, and whole-hearted devotion to the progress of the nation, are no ephemeral qualities in the Japanese. They have been tested by time and by trial, and have stood the test. The future of Japan depends upon the patriotism of her people, and every citizen is a practical patriot. Self-sacrifice for the good of the State, without any hope for self-advancement, is the dominant note of the nation.

This patriotism of Japan, resolute on promoting the best interests of the nation is, however, no parochial, no aggressive spirit. "Firmly resolved as she is," says Marquis Ito, "to enforce the due recognition of her legitimate claims, Japan should also be satisfied with what is her due and with her proper mission, and must never for a moment waver in a frank and broadminded recognition of the legitimate claims and interests of other nations."

CHAPTER III

BUSHIDO, THE JAPANESE ETHICAL CODE

IN the past, as in the present, the wise men of the East have been renowned for the deepness of their thought and the profundity of their vision, and times without number great reforms and great truths have arisen there for the enlightenment of the West. It would be false modesty in this late day of the world to have a prejudice against taking advantage of anything that the concentrated thoughts of the Buddhist priests and Chinese sages of countless generations may have to offer us. For Japan, though considered certainly a non-Christian country, is admittedly the receptacle of the finest thoughts and teachings of China and India, filtered into it through Korea. At a time when Japan is perhaps holding the balance of power in the Far East in the hollow of her hand, it is a relief, as well as instructive, to discover upon what a firm and admirable foundation her moral and ethical character—the actuating motive of all action—lies. The thoughts and teachings which came into Japan from outside were changed, refined, and ennobled into a national creed by the never-weakening force of the Japanese patriotism. From the ethical principles of the early warriors the system of ethics now known as Bushido has been evolved. It is a system of ethics which has grown up spontaneously and naturally among the people, and is indigenous to the

soil. It is a system of natural ethics, and some may perhaps go a step farther and point out that nature is the work of God.

"Every alien form of thought," says a Japanese writer, "but helped to swell the volume of our ethical sentiments, without diverting their direction or changing their essential quality. The truth is, that Bushido is the totality of the moral instincts of the Japanese race, and, therefore, also of our religion of Shintoism. I am strongly inclined to believe that the simple Shinto worship of nature and of ancestors was the foundation of Bushido, and that whatever we borrowed from Chinese philosophy or Hindu religion was its flowers—nay, scarcely flowers even, but rather acted as a fertilizer to feed the trees of the Bushido race to blossom into knightly deeds and virtues."

It is difficult to analyze the growth of Bushido, or to define its teachings. An unwritten system of thought, which finds expression in the acts of its followers, is of all things the most unfathomable as to causes, however plain the results may be. The well-known military correspondent of the *Times* wrote of Bushido: "*We recognize almost grudgingly and in spite of ourselves the existence of a moral force that appears able to govern and sway the whole conduct of a whole people, inspiring not a caste, but a nation from highest to lowest, to deeds that are worthy to rank with the most famous of history or of legend. We want to know what this force is, whence it comes, and what it means; the sense of its existence makes us jealous, uncomfortable, almost annoyed.*"

Baron Suyematsu endeavoured to throw some light upon the earlier days of Bushido when he said: "We have an instruction given to his men by Yoritomo, the first Shogun, and therefore one of the early leaders of the system. The essential points of the instructions are these: (1) Practice and mature military arts; (2) be not guilty of any base or rude conduct; (3) be not cowardly or effeminate in

behaviour; (4) be simple and frugal; (5) the master and servants should mutually respect their indebtedness; (6) keep a promise; (7) share a common fate by mutual bondage in defiance of death or life. We may say that ideas such as these were the foundations of the ethical part of Bushido, and will mean, when interpreted in ethical terms of the Chinese school, (1) diligence in one's profession; (2) love and loyalty between master and servants; (3) decorum and propriety; (4) gallantry and bravery; (5) trustfulness and justice; (6) simplicity and frugality; (7) contempt of meanness. At the bottom of these lay the sense of honour."

The new era brought the necessity for an adequate educational system, based upon sound ethical foundations. "Where," says a Japanese writer, "could the Japanese Government look for such a system as should adequately meet its needs? National ethics are often supposed to be a branch of national religion, but it was obviously impossible for Japan to teach a system of morals that should be inseparably connected with any one system of religion or philosophy. Neither Buddhism nor Shintoism could claim the undivided allegiance of the whole people, still less could Confucianism, and still less could Christianity, which is the faith of a very small minority. To have selected a system of ethics founded on the tenets of any one of these religions or philosophies would have been to stultify the promise of religious liberty which forms one of the principles of the constitution. Nevertheless, ethical teaching had to be given, and it has been a fortunate thing for Japan that she had at hand her old and excellent system of Bushido, a system which speaks with authority to the whole nation, which unnecessarily antagonizes no system of religion, which, while primarily intended for the military class only, is capable of adaptation to the needs of all classes and both sexes, which is easy of comprehension, and easily put into practice."

The work of adapting Bushido to the needs of Japan has been going on quietly and steadily in every school throughout the country. The fruits of the patient labour of many workers have been visible in many ways during the last few years : those who have watched the people carefully know how, in spite of the imperfections that cling to the best of human institutions, there has been a steady improvement in the morals and in the manners of the rising generations. The social evil is far less than it was, the industry, order, steadiness of the people is far greater than it used to be. The one real drawback that Bushido does present is the non-existence of suitable text-books to enable one to find out what it is, to see what it contains, and how it is taught. This objection may be met, however, to a very great extent by reference to an excellent book on the subject from the pen of Professor Inazo Nitobe, a well-known Japanese scholar and writer. With the help of this a very clear idea may be gained of what is taught in the Japanese schools, and how the code of Bushido came into existence. Before dealing with this in detail, I cannot do better than quote here the full text of the famous speech on education by the Japanese Emperor, which is read regularly in all the schools of Japan. When the deep influence of the Emperor over his people is remembered, an influence which the whole system of ancestor-worship forces upon them, it will be more clearly understood how powerful is the advice contained therein, and what a sanction and force it gives to Bushido. The speech runs thus :—

“The Founder of our Imperial House and our other Imperial Ancestors laid the foundations of our empire on a grand and everlasting basis, and deeply implanted the virtues to be ever cherished.

“The goodness of our subjects, displayed generation after generation in loyalty and piety and in harmonious co-operation, constitutes the fundamental character of our

country, and from this the principles of education for our subjects have been derived.

"Do you, our subjects, be filial to your parents, kind to your brothers, harmonious in your relations as husbands and wives, and faithful to your friends ; let your conduct be courteous and frugal, and love others as yourselves, attend to your studies, and practise your respective callings ; cultivate your intellectual faculties and train your moral feelings ; foster the public weal and promote the interests of society, ever render strict obedience to the constitution and to the laws of your empire ; display your public spirit and your courage on behalf of our country whenever required, and thereby give us your support in promoting and maintaining the honour and prosperity of our empire, which is coeval with the heavens and the earth.

"Such conduct on your part will not only be what is fitting in our good and loyal subjects, but will also suffice to make manifest the customs and manners bequeathed to you by your ancestors.

"These instructions, bequeathed to us by our Imperial ancestors, to indicate the course of conduct which we and our subjects are bound to pursue, have been of unfailing validity in all ages past, as in the present, and in all countries whatever.

"Consequently we trust that neither we nor our subjects shall at any time fail to observe faithfully these sacred principles."

This speech covers a wide field, and, stripped perhaps of its appendage of ancestor-worship, would not come amiss from the King of England or his Government. The precepts contained in the Imperial speech are drawn from the moral code of Bushido. This means literally military—knight—ways, or, as we might interpret it, "Precepts of Knighthood," the *noblesse oblige* of chivalry. In short, it was a collection of the precepts which the fighting

nobles, or samurai, should observe in their daily life, as well as in their vocation as warriors. But it must not be imagined that Bushido means simply the old knightly code of European and Japanese chivalry. It is far more than this, and may be described as the Japanese term for what the Christian nations would call the Infinite Truth. It is the crystallization of the moral precepts which are inculcated by all religious teachings. Bushido is the "soul of Japan," productive of and animating all the forms and expressions of Japanese religions. Whatever the diversity of sect, a common meeting-ground is found in Bushido, since it is simply the fundamental vitality, untrammelled by dogma, from which all the moral part of religion, as distinct from the belief in the divine, has sprung. It teaches the elements of all true virtue, how to be upright in every thought and action, ethically and morally. To turn to Professor Nitobe's book for a definite description of Bushido, one finds that Bushido is the code of moral principles which the knights were required or instructed to observe. It is not a written code; at best, it consists of a few maxims handed down from mouth to mouth or coming from the pen of some well-known warrior or savant. More frequently it is a code unwritten and unuttered, possessing all the more the powerful sanction of veritable deed, and of a law written on the fleshy tablets of the heart. It was founded, not on the creation of one brain, however able, or on the life of a single personage, however renowned. It was an organic growth of decades and centuries of military career. It, perhaps, fills the same position in the history of ethics that the English Constitution does in political history; yet it has had nothing to compare with the Magna Carta or the Habeas Corpus Act. True, early in the seventeenth century military statutes (*buke hatto*) were promulgated; but their thirteen short articles were taken up mostly with marriages, castles, leagues, etc., and didactic regulations

were but meagrely touched upon. We cannot, therefore, point out any definite time and place, and say, "Here is its fountain head." Only as it attains consciousness in the feudal age, its origin in respect to time, it may be identified with feudalism. But feudalism itself is woven of many threads, and Bushido shares its intimate nature.

With the feudal age was developed the fighting class, known as samurai, meaning literally, like the old English word *cniht* (knecht, knight), guards or attendance. Originally of very rough breed, these samurai were a privileged class, and came gradually to great honour and privileges. Their increased responsibilities forced upon them the necessity of a common standard of behaviour, a need accentuated by the state of feud constantly to be found between the various clans. To quote Professor Nitobe: "Fair play in fight! what fertile germs of morality lie in this primitive sense of savagery and childhood! Is it not the root of all civic and military virtues? We smile (as if we had outgrown it) at the boyish desire of the small Britisher, Tom Brown, 'to leave behind him the name of a fellow who never bullied a little boy or turned his back on a big one.' And yet who does not know that this desire is the corner-stone on which moral structures of mighty dimensions can be reared? May I not even go as far as to say that the gentlest and most peace-loving of religions endorses this aspiration? This desire of Tom's is the basis on which the greatness of England is largely built, and it will not take us long to discover that Bushido does not stand on a lower pedestal.

"It may be as well before dealing with its chief points to glance more closely at the origins and sources of Bushido. Firstly, there was Buddhism, which supplied a sentiment of calm trust in Fate, a quiet submission to the inevitable a stoical composure in sight of danger and calamity, a disdain of life, and friendliness with death. Secondly, came Shintoism, which supplied many of the elements

lacking in the Buddhist teaching. It was Shintoism which inculcated loyalty to the sovereign, reverence for ancestral memory, and filial piety, to a greater degree than these are found in any other creed. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the Shinto temples the place of honour is given to a plain mirror, before which the worshippers kneel, seeing their own images reflected in the shining surface. The act of worship in these temples is tantamount to the old Delphic injunction, "Know thyself." To the warriors then, and to the Japanese people now, Shintoism is a call to regard their country as "more than land and soil from which to mine gold or to reap corn"—it is the sacred abode of the gods, the spirits of the forefathers; to them the Emperor is the bodily representative of heaven on earth, blending in his person its power and its mercy.

"While Bushido took strong cognizance of the god-like man, it did not overlook his animal nature. As said one poet, 'Should men speak of the Evil One, thou wilt laugh in their faces; what if thou hadst asked thy own heart?' I need not add that this belief in the dual nature of man was not necessarily self-contradictory. From the Pauline doctrine that it is the law which makes sin manifest, it follows that the more stringent and exacting the law, the more manifest the sin. The clearer one's conscience, the keener his sense of shame—not that he indulges more in shameful acts and thoughts, but the least of sins which would escape other eyes are manifest in his sight; hence the first duty of the samurai, who prides himself upon being the archetype of the race, was to be master of himself. One of the greatest warriors of the eleventh century left a verse behind him, which, roughly translated, runs—

"Subdue first of all thy own self,
Next thy friends, and last thy foes.
Three victories are these of him
That would a conqueror's name attain."

"Self-mastery, the maintenance of equanimity of temper under conditions the most trying, in war or peace, of composure and presence of mind in sudden dangers, of fortitude in times of calamities and reverses, was exercised as one of the primary virtues of a man of action ; it was even drilled into youths by genuine Spartan methods.

"Paradoxical as it may seem at first appearance, this strong fortification of self against external causes of surprise was but one side of self-subjection. One of the terms of highest praise was 'a man without a *me*.' The complete effacement of self meant identification with a personality of some higher cause. The very duties that man performs are, according to our idea, not to buy salvation for himself ; he has no prospect of a 'reward in heaven' offered him, if he does this or does not do that."

Besides these two important sources of Bushido, it must be remembered that the writings of Confucius and Mencius formed the principal text-books of the youths of Japan. These two thinkers supplied the chief part of the strictly ethical doctrines of Bushido. The five moral relations enunciated by Confucius were well suited to the samurai.

So much for the sources of the code ; the essential principles which Bushido drew from them and from which it formed itself were few and simple. Foremost in the list comes rectitude, or justice, which was by far the most weighty precept in the samurai's code. Underhand dealings and crooked paths were abhorrent to his mind—he was essentially no diplomat, as diplomacy is now understood. The two following definitions by well-known samurai throw light upon what these knights understood by this precept:—"Rectitude is the power of deciding upon a certain course of conduct in accordance with reason, without wavering ; to die when it is right to die, to strike when to strike is right." "Rectitude is the bone that gives firmness and stature. As without bones the head cannot rest on the top of the spine, nor hands move,

nor feet stand ; so without rectitude neither talent nor learning can make of a human frame a samurai. With it the lack of accomplishments is as nothing."

Even to the very last day of feudalism the title of *Gishi* (a man of rectitude) was considered superior to any other title. Differing slightly from rectitude was *Giri*, literally right reason, which came to mean the duty one owes to parents, superiors, to inferiors, to society at large, and so on. Filial piety was one of the most striking instances of *Giri*.

We come now to Courage, which, however, was scarcely considered worthy to rank as a virtue, unless it was employed in the cause of righteousness. Confucius defines Courage by explaining in his usual negative way what it is not. "Perceiving what is right, and doing it not, argues lack of courage." A strong distinction was made between mere physical and moral courage. A samurai prince said once, "To rush into the thick of battle and be slain in it, is easy enough, and the merest churl is equal to the task ; but it is true courage to live when it is right to live, and to die when it is right to die." "Great valour" in Japan meant moral courage, and the title of "The courage of a villen" was bestowed upon mere physical bravery. All the children of samurai were brought up in a most Spartan-like manner, and thus there was no need of a special teaching of physical courage and endurance.

Following courage comes benevolence and the feeling of piety. Love, magnanimity, affection for others, sympathy and mercy were always recognized by the samurai as supreme virtues, the highest of all the attributes of the human soul. Even in the rough fighting days of feudalism mercy was not too rare. "Bushu no nasake," the tenderness of a warrior, was considered superior to ordinary tenderness or mercy, since it implied mercy where it recognized due regard to justice also. The young samurai were taught to practise music and to make poetry—not the

music of trumpet or of drum, but the soft melody of stringed instruments; while the verses of the warriors dealt with the beauties of nature or the singing of birds, rather than of battle or of death. Professor Nitobe says of this—

“What Christianity has done in Europe towards arousing compassion in the midst of belligerent horrors, love of music and letters has done in Japan. The cultivation of tender feelings breeds considerate regard for the sufferings of others.”

Politeness and respect for the feelings of others were insisted upon by all the followers of Bushido, although they were not considered as being in the front rank of virtues. Dr. Nitobe says of them—

“Politeness is a poor virtue if it is actuated only by a fear of offending good taste, whereas it should be the outward manifestation of a sympathetic regard for the feelings of others. It also implies a due regard for the fitness of things, therefore due respect to social positions; for these latter express no plutocratic distinctions, but were originally distinctions for actual merit. In its highest form, politeness almost approaches love.”

This teaching of politeness caused a very elaborate system of ceremonial usage to spring up. Table manners have grown to be a science. Tea drinking and serving have been raised to a ceremony. To quote again—

“I have heard slighting remarks made by European men upon our elaborate discipline of politeness. It has been criticized as absorbing too much of our thought, and so a folly to observe strict obedience to it. I admit that there may be unnecessary niceties in ceremonious etiquette; but whether it partakes as much of folly as the adherence to ever-changing fashions in the West, is a question not very clear in my mind.”

Politeness, as such, is a great acquisition, even although it should go no further than to impart grace of manners.

But Bushido teaches that politeness and propriety mean far more than this. Springing from motives of benevolence and modesty, and actuated by tender feelings toward the sensibilities of others, it is ever a graceful expression of sympathy. It causes its believers to weep with those who weep, and rejoice with those who rejoice.

"Stoicism is a point insisted upon constantly in our self-culture ; so that no sooner is our heart stirred than the will is brought into reflex motion to subdue it. Is a man angry? It is bad taste to rage ; let him laugh out his indignation ! Has tribulation stricken him ? let him bury his tears in smiles. It is a very common remark that the Japanese are a bright-hearted, merry people, wearing a perpetual smile, and that the girls are ever simpering and giggling. As Lafcadio Hearn has in his inimitable style analyzed the Japanese smile, there is but little left to add. Suffice it to say that it is a complex phenomenon, being the result of several conscious and unconscious conflicts in the brain and in the breast. The constant endeavour to maintain serenity of mind is so closely connected with our sense of politeness and civility, that I may now pass over to this trait of samurai education. The underlying idea of politeness is to make your company and companionship agreeable to others. It is the first condition of good society. Bows and courtesies are but a small part of good breeding. If, however, your bows are so awkward as to offend your friend's good taste, they deserve to be studied and amended. Etiquette, therefore, may be studied as one studies music for the voice or mathematics for mental discipline. This implies as little that manners are all as that the voice is everything. Etiquette is not an end in Bushido culture ; it is one of the many ways whereby man may cultivate his spiritual nature. In drinking tea, it is a slight affair how you handle your spoon, but it is never too small to show what you are. 'Manners make the man.' Still, I cannot emphasize too strongly that manners

and etiquette are valuable, only as manifestations of a genuine culture of the soul, which pleases itself in imparting pleasure to others and in avoiding giving pain. Politeness must conform to the precept, 'Rejoice with those who rejoice, and weep with those who weep,' or rather, to rejoice with those who rejoice, and not let others weep when you weep. Stoicism and politeness, apparently so far apart, are in reality brother and sister: he bears all that she may shine; without her he is stolid; without him she is trivial."

But it was also recognized that politeness might be carried too far and become a farce. "Propriety," says Masamme, "carried beyond right bounds, becomes a lie." And Bushido brought into great prominence the value of veracity or truthfulness. What teaching could be more fine than that of the old poet of Japan, who said, "To thyself be faithful; if in thy heart thou strayest not from truth, without prayer of thine, the gods will keep thee whole." Lying or equivocation was deemed equally cowardly. The *Bushi* held that his high social position demanded a loftier standard of veracity than that of the tradesmen and peasant. "Bushi-no-ichignon"—the word of a samurai—was sufficient guarantee of the truthfulness of an assertion. His word carried such weight with it that promises were generally made and fulfilled without a written pledge, which would have been considered quite beneath his dignity. The regard for veracity was so high that, unlike the generality of Christians who persistently violate the plain command of their teacher not to swear, the best samurai looked upon an oath as derogatory to his honour. It is interesting to find that there was no command against bearing false witness, neither was lying condemned as sin; it was simply denounced as dishonourable. And honour was one of the great, if not the greatest, virtue of a samurai.

A good name being assumed as a matter of course, any

stain upon its integrity was felt as shame, and the sense of shame (*Ren chi shin*) was one of the earliest to be cherished in juvenile education. "You will be laughed at," "It will disgrace you," "Are you not ashamed?" were the last appeals to be made to correct the behaviour on the part of the youthful delinquent. Such an appeal to his honour touched the most sensitive spot in the child's heart, as though it had been nursed in honour in its mother's womb. Indeed, the sense of shame seems to be the earliest indication of moral consciousness. That samurai was right who refused to compromise his character by a slight humiliation in his youth, "because," he said, "dishonour is like a scar on a tree, which time, instead of effacing, only helps to enlarge."

Even to-day in Tokyo it is easy to find poor shopkeepers or milkmen who still retain all the instincts of the samurai, and to whom the refusal of a customer to pay his debts is thought to be more completely punished by the exposure of his shameful conduct in the public press than by recourse to law. Centuries before the time of Carlyle, Mencius taught that "Shame is the soil of all virtues, of good manners and good morals."

"Shame," says Professor Nitobe, "did not always imply degradation or humiliation in the sight of our fellow-creature. Our expression, "*Kokoroin-hajirn*" or "*Ten-in-hajirn*"—to be ashamed before one's own mind or before heaven—has, perhaps, a better equivalent in German than in English, in the words *sich schämen*. 'As long as my mind's mirror is unclouded by all your foul breathings upon its face, all is well,' says a samurai; or, as a poet has put it, 'Leaving to each beholder to think whatever thoughts her presence may inspire, the autumn moon shines clear and serene on the crest of yon mount.'

"Take *hara-kiri* as a type of what was expected of a samurai when he disgraced himself. It is not unusual to hear this word, which, by the way, is more usually called

by us *seppuku* or *happuku*, jeeringly mentioned by foreign writers, and certainly the practice is in itself a revolting one. It is unjust, however, to look upon a practice like this from an altogether realistic point of view. To one who has never heard of the world tragedy of Mount Calvary, what a disgusting sight Tissot's picture of that scene presents! Death scenes, even of the best, are not always dramatic or picturesque. It is the story which casts a halo round a martyr's livid death; it is the life the dead have lived which steals from death the pangs and ignominy. Were it not so, who would associate a cup of hemlock with philosophy, or a cross with the Gospel? If *seppuku* were a form of execution confined to robbers and pickpockets, well might it deserve its literal translation, 'splitting the better,' and then be politely dispensed with in polite society. We may say of body-ripping what Carlyle said of religious mendicancy, 'that it was no beautiful business, nor an honourable one in any eye, till the nobleness of those who did so had made it honoured of some.' *Seppuku* does literally and actually mean cutting the abdomen. It was a form of death confined to the two-sworded order. Sometimes it was a punishment imposed by authority, or it might be self-imposed; sometimes it was a sacrifice (can I call it symbolical?) of life for a cause; sometimes, also, the last resort where honour could find refuge. When it was administered as a punishment, it amounted to this—that the guilty one admitted his own crime; it was as though he said, 'I have done wrong; I am ashamed before my own conscience. I punish myself with my own hand, for I judge myself. If the accused were innocent, he would nevertheless often commit *seppuku*, the idea in this case being, 'I am not guilty; I will show you my soul, that you may judge for yourself.'"

"To the practical and labour-saving mind of the West nothing could seem more unnecessary and foolish than to

go through all this painful operation when a pistol-shot or a dose of arsenic would answer the purpose just as well. It must be remembered, however, that the Bushido idea of *seppuku* was not solely 'to end the thousand and one ills to which flesh is heir.' Death, as such, was not a 'consummation devoutly to be wished for.' Honour was what decided this action in life or death, and honour never tolerates the idea of sneaking out of existence. The cool deliberation without which *seppuku* would be impossible was to prove that it was not adopted in haste or in a fit of madness. A clear conscience marked each step of the undertaking. The pain which it necessitated was the measure of the fortitude with which it was borne. In one word the committer of *seppuku* could say, 'Bear witness that I die the death of courage.' Then too, to the samurai, death, be it on the field of battle or on the mats (as we say), in peace was to be the crowning glory—'the last of life for which the first was made,' and hence it was to be attended with full honour."

But Bushido, besides establishing a delicate code of honour, prepared safeguards against too morbid excess in this direction by teaching magnanimity and patience. As the popular saying runs, "To bear what you think you cannot bear, is really to bear." The following few sayings by great samurai, or teachers, show clearly enough that while Bushido was a code of morals for a warlike race, it in no wise urged them solely towards bloodshed and cruelty. The great Lyeyasu said once, "The life of a man is like the going a long journey with a heavy load on the shoulders. Haste not. Reproach none, but be for ever watchful of thine own shortcomings. Forbearance is the basis of length of days." Mencius was a firm advocate of patience and long-suffering. "Though you denude yourself and insult me," he says, "what is that to me? You cannot defile my soul by your outrage." He also teaches that while indignation for a great cause is a righteous

wrath, anger at a petty offence is unworthy of a great man. "When others speak all manner of evil things against thee, return not evil for evil, but reflect rather that thou wast not more faithful in the discharge of thy duties." "When others blame thee, blame them not; when others are angry with thee, return not anger; joy cometh only as a passion and desire part."

Brave words of brave men! For these last two quotations fell from the lips of two of the bravest of all the votaries of Bushido, men whose words and deeds are cherished and repeated throughout the length and breadth of Japan to this day. There is no end to the utterances, maxims, and examples which might be quoted here in proof of the fine effect of the teachings of Bushido on these once rough warriors and fighters.

Bushido had one point in its teaching for which no sacrifice was held too dear, no life too precious; this was the duty of loyalty, which was as the keystone of the arch of feudal virtues. The feudal system has passed away from Japan as it has from England, and yet there is no less reverence to the duty of loyalty in Japan to-day than long ago. Bushido holds that the interests of the family and of its members are one and the same, and it should be so with the entire nation. There should be no interests separately for the subjects or the rulers; all should work for the whole, and merge his or her personal interests in the interests of the nation as a whole. Thus has Bushido made of the Japanese the most patriotic race in the world.

When a ruler is actuated by a lofty sense of the functions of his office as powers entrusted to him from above, there remains nothing higher for his subjects than to support him with all the obedience compatible with their duties to their own consciences. Bushido was thus, like Christianity, a doctrine of duty and service. The governing and the governed were alike taught to serve a

higher end, and to that end to sacrifice themselves. If an Emperor proved not worthy of his high post he would resign the Imperial power into the hands of another and more capable member of the Imperial House—all this without civil war, without any compulsion save the inner promptings of his own heart.

“Bushido,” says another writer, “further expected its disciples to be simple and frugal in their lives, and to avoid display and luxury of every kind. That great hero of Bushido, Yoritomo, was conspicuously frugal in his life, and always looked for frugality in the retainers whom he placed nearest to his person.” This simplicity and frugality of life, which is always in strong contrast to the extravagant and sometimes ostentatious luxury of Europe and America, is one of the strongest points of Japanese social life to-day, and it requires no prophetic gifts to foresee that so long as Japan can retain the simple manners of life which her *Bushi* have taught her in the past, so long will she retain that pre-eminence among nations to which she is so rapidly climbing.

The simplicity of life, which is almost universal in Japan, enables a Japanese to bear the reverses of fortune with greater ease and dignity than would be the case in countries in which social distinctions rest very largely on a monetary base. To be poor is no disgrace where everybody is poor, especially if you are able gracefully to cut your coat according to your cloth. But poverty is a great disgrace when a man, because he is poor, shuts the door of his heart and refuses his sympathies to others. The *Bushi* was always poor, but he was always taught to be hospitable to strangers and pitiful to those in distress.

Although at first this code of ethics was for the samurai, it filtered down and acted as leaven among the masses, furnishing a moral standard for the whole people. The precepts of knighthood, beginning at first for the glory of the *élite*, became in time an inspiration, and an

aspiration to the nation at large ; and though the populace cannot attain the height of these loftier souls, yet they can strive for that attainment, and *Yamato Damashi* (the Soul of Japan) ultimately came to express the *Volkgeist* of the Island Kingdom.

It is interesting to quote Professor Nitobe on the influence of Bushido in the wonderful growth of Japan in these last three decades.

"When we opened the whole country to foreign trade, when we introduced the latest improvements in every department of life, when we began to study Western politics and sciences, our guiding motive was not the development of our physical resources and the increase of wealth ; much less was it a blind imitation of Western customs. The sense of honour which cannot bear being looked down upon as an inferior power—that was the strongest of motives. Pecuniary or industrial considerations were awakened later in the process of transformation."

To the would-be disciple of Bushido the knowledge of the training of the samurai would be indispensable. The first point to be observed in knightly pedagogics was to build up character, leaving in the shade the subtler faculties of prudence, intelligence and dialectics. We have seen the important part æsthetic accomplishments played in his education. Indispensable as they were to a man of culture, they were accessories rather than essentials of the samurai training. Intellectual superiority was of course esteemed ; but the word *chi*, which was employed to denote intellectuality, meant wisdom in the first instance, and placed mere knowledge only in a very subordinate place. The tripod that supported Bushido was said to be *Chi, Jin, Yu* ; respectively, Wisdom, Benevolence, and Courage. A samurai was essentially a man of action. Science was out of the pale of his activity. He took advantage of it in so far as it concerned his profession of arms. Religion and theology were relegated to the

priests ; he only concerned himself with them in so far as they helped to nourish courage. Like an English poet, the samurai believed " 'tis not the creed that saves the man, but it is the man that justifies the creed." Philosophy and literature formed the chief part of his intellectual training ; but even in the pursuit of these it was not objective truth that he strove after. Literature was pursued mainly as a pastime, and philosophy as a practical aid in the formation of character, if not for the exposition of some military or political problem.

From this brief explanation of the subject, so lucidly and ably set forth in detail in Professor Nitobe's book, we see that he thus sums up the vital nature or the hold of Bushido upon the Japanese nation.

"The inborn race instinct of honour is the only safeguard of our public morals, the sole imperative check on our private conduct, the one foundation of patriotism and loyalty, honour is the only tie that binds the Japanese to the ethical world ; any other moral power is still feeble, either in its infancy or in its senility, though there is no denying that numerous and attractive panaceas are being advertised at every corner of the streets. Buddhism has lost its earnest strivings, busying itself with petty trifles among its small sects. The light of Confucius and Mencius has paled before the more taking, if more variegated, light of later philosophers. Christianity has wandered far from the teachings of its Divine Founder, and as too often preached is a farce and a caricature of the original. Diabolical Nietzsche and his shallow followers are gradually making their way, assuring to still shallower youths salvation through Hedoinism, though it has not as yet gained strong foothold, if ever it can. Unitarians present us with balance-sheets of pleasure and pain, assuring us that theirs is the only scientific system of moral book-keeping. Materialism is not slack in enlisting a large following, to which it doles out in well-tasting pills such comfort as

the world can give. Reactionism has, on its part, tried hard to build a structure of its own, based on cant, bigotry, and hypocrisy, into which it would unite the whole Japanese race, and, of course, excluding foreigners. But all these systems and schools of ethics are mainly confined to lecture-rooms and to loud talkers. The heart of the nation is still swayed by *Bushido*. It commands and guides us, and, consciously or unconsciously, we follow. It is through the medium of *Bushido* that the best reverence of our fathers and the noblest lore of our mothers still spring, for our flesh and blood has been imbued with it. How could it be otherwise? We can be but the children of our parents. And when I say so I am far from advocating, on the one hand, the revival of old feudalism, for it was not a trait inherent in our race; nor do I mean, on the other hand, that we should preserve obsolete political or social institutions, for institutions must of necessity be ever changing with the march of time. The spirit of *Bushido* is ever ready to listen to and to adopt whatever is good, pure, and of good repute. The transformation of modern Japan is itself the fruit of the teachings of *Bushido*."

Is it not a code to be emulated which, although designed for a warlike class, taught mercy and patience under insult, and drew a strong line between righteous and unrighteous anger? Have not the educational codes of religious morality of the West too often resulted in a teaching of hatred rather than of peace, of honesty because it pays to be honest, of hypocrisy rather than rectitude, of selfishness rather than justice? There are flaws to be found in *Bushido* doubtless, since there is nothing perfect; but the great strength that it has to the thinking mind is that it gets beneath the various creeds and dogmas to the fundamental truths necessary to the building up of fine character. Is it not reasonable to suggest that the nations of the world may look with

more equanimity upon the future of Japan, knowing that since the Japanese have been reared in an atmosphere charged with the moral ideas of Bushido, unnecessary wars will be avoided and the horrors of necessary wars will, wherever possible, be mitigated? Is such a nation as likely to abuse the power she possesses and is acquiring as another nation without the same privileges might be?

CHAPTER IV

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP

THE influence of Bushido upon the Japanese nation cannot well be over-estimated, but there is another influence still more far-reaching and fundamental. This is ancestor-worship, which may be regarded as the foundation-stone from which spring loyalty and patriotism, and which supplies that enormous reserve of energy which makes Japan what she is to-day. Baron Kaneko Kentaro expresses the consideration held of ancestor-worship by the fact that the Japanese are a little different from the Western people in regard to their respect for the past; for they adore the past and the history of their ancestors much more than occidental people do. "As keenly and as profoundly as we look toward our future and our prosperity," he says, "the future of our family and our nation—we cling still more keenly and more delicately to our past—the tradition of our forefathers and our nation. We always look ahead in search for something higher than our present condition for our descendants. Our present welfare and happiness is nothing to us when compared with an illustrious past and a great future for our family and our nation. Thus looking forward to our future, we constantly strive to mark out 'the grand policy for a century to come.' This is a rather high-sounding phrase, but when we examine our history we always find it underlying our national movements—social, religious, and political—because the Japanese, from time immemorial, have shown

the peculiar characteristic of marking out what they will do for the future. In order to establish this grand policy, they always study the problem with a far-reaching foresight. This trend of mind is a characteristic of our race. When they contemplate a great problem for national affairs they never think of themselves, but always look forward through the labyrinths of the future to find out the surest way to attain their ultimate aim and goal. According to Japanese notion, compared to this grand policy for the future, the present welfare and happiness of ourselves dwindles into nothingness."

It may be said without exaggeration that every Japanese man, every Japanese woman, and every Japanese child is an ancestor-worshipper. This applies to the Christian convert equally with the Buddhist devotee.

Ancestor-worship, or more properly the veneration of ancestors, is beyond the touch of religion; it does not interfere with it, and cannot be affected by it, and differs very materially from that in vogue in China or elsewhere, being a higher, purer cult, and productive of results quite unlike those produced in China. It is worth noting here that in China the greatest strides were made by the Jesuit fathers in gaining converts and power after they had declared that ancestor-worship was not a religion, and therefore need not be abandoned by the convert to Christianity. Nowadays it may seem strange in European eyes to see the various members of a family called together by telephone, from the home, the Government office, or the bank, to meet for the ceremony of the veneration of the family ancestors under electric light with some members in Western and some in Eastern garb! But no matter what the externals, the inward feelings are as sincere and as powerful as ever before.

"In Europe and America," says Dr. Nobushige Hozumi, the leading Japanese authority on the subject, "ancestor-worship has long ceased to exist, even if it was

ever practised on those continents. In Japan, where at the present time a constitutional government is established, where codes of laws modelled upon those of Western countries are in operation, where, in short, almost every art of civilization has taken firm root, the worshipping of deceased ancestors still obtains and still exercises a powerful influence over the laws and customs of the people. The practice dates back to the earliest days, and has survived through hundreds of generations in spite of the many political and social revolutions which have taken place since the foundation of the empire. The introduction of Chinese civilization into the country was favourable to the growth of this custom, by reason of the fact that the morality, laws, and institutions of China are also based upon the doctrine of ancestor-worship. Buddhism, which is not based upon this doctrine, but is, on the contrary, antagonistic to it, was compelled to yield to the deep-rooted belief of the people, and adapt itself to the national practice ; while the introduction of Western civilization, which has wrought so many political and social changes during the last thirty years, has had no influence whatever in the direction of modifying it. Thus, it will be seen that the three foreign elements, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Western civilization, all of which have had immense influence upon our laws, manners, and customs, and two of which were diametrically opposed to ancestor-worship, could not make way against, nor put an end to, the widespread and persistent faith of the people. The people, whether Shintoists or Buddhists, are all ancestor-worshippers."

There are many misconceptions as to the nature of ancestor-worship, chief among them being the idea that it had its origin in the fear of the ghosts of the ancestors and the necessity of propitiating them. It seems much more probable, and Mr. Hozumi agrees in this view, that the custom originated rather in the love felt by people for

their parents. Love and respect may lead to awe, they do not produce fear. There are several passages in old books which lend weight to the view that it was for love, and not for fear of the dead, that offerings were made, but it was also recognized that there were two classes of ghosts, those of enemies and those of friends. The former class was to be feared and sometimes propitiated, the latter, amongst which were ancestors, were to be offered gifts as tokens of love and respect. The Chinese philosopher Shin-ki, writing on ancestor-worship, says that "the object of worship is nothing else than performing all that is dictated by a feeling of true love and respect." There is something beautiful in the explanation which one Japanese writer gives of this custom in his book on "The Rituals of Worship."

"Who," he says, "endowed with life in this world, has not a mind to honour his parents? Who, honouring his parents, does not reverence his ancestors? Who, honouring parents and reverencing ancestors, is not prompted to follow the dictates of affectionate sentiment by offering sacrifices to their spirits? . . . Those who are left behind in this world by their parents feel pangs of grief in their hearts as months and years pass away. When the flowers begin to blossom in the spring, when trees and grasses put forth their luxuriance in the summer, when insects murmur and sing in the autumn evenings, and when the winter brings its dews and frosts, everything they see and hear stirs up a feeling of sorrow, and reminds them of days when their parents walked the earth; and to their inability to forget their parents is due the practice of offering them food and drink. Thus, the custom of making sacrifices to spirits finds its origin in human nature."

The Japanese feeling of veneration for their ancestors is a finer and higher form of that sentiment which in Western countries prompts the placing of flowers upon the graves of recently deceased relations. Everything

possible is done to carry out the Confucian idea "that it is the highest filial piety to serve the dead as they would serve the living, and to serve the departed as they would serve the present."

Unlike Bushido, which, originally at least, was confined to certain classes of the population, ancestor-worship has always been universal. It is this universal nature of the practice that renders it so potent an influence in the nation.

There are two sacred places in every Japanese house: the *kamidana*, or "godshelf," and the *butsudam*, or "Buddhist altar." The first named is the Shinto altar, which is a plain wooden shelf. In the centre of this sacred shelf is placed a *taima*, or *o-nusa* (great offering), which is a part of the offerings made to the Daijingu of Ise or the temple dedicated to Amaterasu Omi-Kami, the First Imperial Ancestor. The Taima is distributed from the temple of Ise to every house in the empire at the end of each year, and is worshipped by every loyal Japanese as the representation of the First Imperial Ancestor. On this altar the offering of rice, sake (liquor brewed from rice), and branches of sakaki tree (*Cleyera japonica*) are usually placed, and every morning the members of the household make reverential obeisance before it by clapping hands and bowing; while in the evening lights are also placed on the shelf. On this shelf is placed in addition the charm of Ujigama, or the local tutelary god of the family, and, in many houses, the charms of the other Shinto deities also. In a Shinto household there is a second god-shelf, or *kamidana*, which is dedicated exclusively to the worship of the ancestors of the house. On this second shelf are placed cenotaphs bearing the names of the ancestors, their ages, and the dates of their death. The memorial tablets are called *mitama-shiro*, meaning "representatives of souls," and they are usually placed in small boxes shaped like Shinto shrines. Offerings of rice,

sake, fish, sakaki tree, and lamps are made on this second shelf as on the first. In the Buddhist household there is, in addition to the *kamidana*, a *butsudan*, on which are placed cenotaphs bearing on the front posthumous Buddhist names, and on the back the names used by the ancestors during their lifetime. The cenotaph is usually lacquered, and is sometimes placed in a box called *zushi*, while family crests are very often painted both on the tablet and on the box. Offerings of flowers, branches of shikimi tree (*Illicium religiosum*), tea, rice, and other vegetable foods are usually placed before the cenotaphs, while incense is continually burnt, and in the evening small lamps are lighted. The *butsudan* takes the place of the second god-shelf of the Shinto household, both being dedicated to the worship of family ancestors.

Beside the definitely stated occasions for the worship of ancestors in every household in Japan there are the sacrifice days, which are the days in each month corresponding to the day of the ancestor's death ; the sacrifice months, which are the days of the month corresponding to the day and month of an ancestor's death ; and the sacrifice years, which are the certain years in which on a day of the month corresponding to the death of an ancestor celebrations may be held. Participation in the ceremonies is generally limited to the members of the family and near relatives, but occasionally larger festivals are held at which Shintoists and Buddhist priests officiate, either in the private house or in a Buddhist temple. Mr. Hozumi thus describes the rituals:—

“Shinto offerings consist of sake, rice, fish, game, vegetables, and fruits, for food and drink, and pieces of silk and hemp for clothing, while branches of sakaki tree and flowers are also frequently offered. The priests who conduct the ceremony clap their hands before the altar, and the chief priest pronounces the prayer, or *norito*, the words of which vary on different occasions . . . the

prayer usually ends with the supplication that the spirit may protect and watch over the family, and accept the offerings dutifully submitted. After this, each assembled party, commencing with the head of the house, takes a small branch of sakaki tree, to which is attached a piece of paper representing fine cloth, places it on the altar, and then claps hands and makes obeisance. In the ceremonies of the Buddhists the offerings usually consist of tea, rice, fruits, cakes, and flowers, either artificial or natural, the most usual being lotus. Fish and meat form no part of the sacrifice because of the doctrine of abstinence from flesh embodied in Buddha's commandment not to kill any animal being. Whether the ceremony takes place in the temple or in the house, priests officiate and recite sacred books. . . . The assembly in turn burn incense and prostrate themselves before the altar, the order of precedence being the same as in the case of Shinto worship."

When a young student goes to Europe to pursue his studies, when a soldier goes on a campaign, when an official is sent abroad by the Government, or when a merchant undertakes a long journey on business, he invariably visits the graves of his ancestors in order to take leave of them. And who can under-estimate the effect on the man, be he young or old, as he goes out into the world, of this last solemn visit to the ancestors of his house, who watch him with unseen eyes and to whom he has duties plain and well-defined.

With the Japanese each day contains some minutes set apart for active veneration of the Imperial Ancestor. The Emperor is the living representative of the First Imperial Ancestor, and contains in himself all the virtues and all the powers of his ancestors. It is difficult to imagine people more loyal, if loyalty consists in the outward form of loyal actions, for the people of Japan do reverence every day to the representative of the First Imperial Ancestor. The very fact of this continuous

reverence cannot fail to set a seal upon the loyalty of its subjects and mark it out from that of other peoples.

This has been going on for over two thousand five hundred years! There has been no break, no change of direction. If thoughts have power, as they must have, even though not understood or recognized, what power must not these thoughts of veneration have generated in these thousands of years! Thus the veneration reaches the present day with accumulative force impossible almost of comprehension, and creates in the Japanese people a patriotic and loyal force of inconceivable magnitude.

In connection with the worship of the First Imperial Ancestor there are three places set apart. These are, "The Temple of Daijingu at Ise, the Kashikodokoro in the Sanctuary of the Imperial Palace, and the *kamidana* which is to be found in every house." In the first two places the Imperial Ancestor is represented by a Divine Mirror. The mirror was given to the first Imperial Ancestor, so tradition says, "accompanied by the injunction that her descendants should look upon that mirror as representing her soul and should worship it as herself." It may be remarked here that the First Imperial Ancestor was a woman, a fact possibly not without significance. It is, at all events, remarkable in a country against which one of the commonest accusations has been that there was no respect paid to women. Originally the Divine Mirror was worshipped at the Imperial palace, but was later removed to the temple at Ise, its place being taken by a duplicate. Although all the people worship the First Imperial Ancestor at home they look upon it as a necessity to visit the temple at Ise at least once during a lifetime. It is no unusual event for schoolboys and young men to secretly desert their work in order to walk to Ise on a pilgrimage and do worship. It is to the Japanese people very much what Mecca is to the Mohammadans, with this difference, that it is in the power of every man or woman

who can walk to visit this holy place. In the Imperial palace sanctuary there are three temples. The central one, Kashiko Dokoro, contains the mirror, and is dedicated to the worship of the First Imperial Ancestor. The second temple, Kworei Den, standing to the west, is dedicated to the worship of "all the Imperial ancestors since Jimmu Tenno the first emperor, founder of the empire." The third temple, to the east, is known as Shinden, and serves for the worship of all other deities.

It is interesting to note how close is the connection between every action of the Imperial family and ancestor-worship. When Jimmu Tenno founded the empire, the ceremony of convocation consisted in the worship of the Imperial ancestors on the hill of Torimi Yama. At the accession of every Emperor there is a ceremony called *Daijo-Sai* usually on the first festival day of Shinsho-Sai (October 17th, or November 23rd), in which the newly ordained Emperor offers the first fruits of the year to his ancestors. An article in the Imperial House Law, drawn up at the time of the Constitution, says, "The ceremonies of coronation shall be performed, and Daijo-Sai shall be held at Kyoto." Another article of the same law provides that "upon the demise of the Emperor, the Imperial heir shall ascend the throne, and shall acquire the divine treasures of the Imperial ancestors." These consist of the mirror, a sword, and a precious stone bequeathed by the First Imperial Ancestor. One of the articles of the Ordinance relating to the marriages in the Imperial household in 1900 states that, "when the agreement of the Imperial marriage is made, it should be reported to Kashiko Dokoro, Kworei Den, and Shinden (the three temples in the Imperial palace), and the Imperial messenger for offering sacrifices shall be sent to Juigu (the temple at Ise), and to the graves of Jimmu Tenno (the first emperor), the late Imperial Father, and the late Imperial Mother respectively."

Of the eleven "Great Festival Days" observed as national holidays in Japan, all but two relate to the worship of Imperial ancestors. Of these two, one is the birthday of the Emperor, and the other the Banquet of the New Year. On these days everybody is gay and makes holiday ; the children assemble at their schools, and, standing before the portraits of the Emperor and Empress, have the Emperor's speech on education read and explained to them.

That the foundation of the Government itself was the worship of ancestors is shown by the word used to express government, *Matsurigoto*, which means affairs of worship. The Constitution of Japan, promulgated in 1899, contains many manifestations of the vitality and force of ancestor-worship in modern Japan. That the very foundation of the Constitution is the worship of the Imperial ancestors is definitely set forth in the preamble. "Having, by virtue of the glories of Our ancestors, ascended the throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal, remembering that Our beloved subjects are the very same that have been favoured with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of Our ancestors, and desiring to promote their welfare and give development to their moral and intellectual faculties, and hoping to maintain the prosperity and progress of the State, in concert with Our people and with their support, We hereby promulgate . . . a fundamental law of State, to exhibit the principles by which We are to be guided in Our conduct, and to point out to what Our descendants, Our subjects and their descendants, are for ever to conform. The rights of sovereignty of the State, We have inherited from Our ancestors, and We shall bequeath them to Our descendants. Neither We nor they shall in future fail to wield them in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby granted."

In his speech at the promulgation of the Constitution,

the Emperor said that "The Imperial Founder of Our House, and Our other Imperial ancestors, by the help and support of the forefathers of Our subjects, laid the foundation of Our empire upon a basis which is to last for ever." The Emperor took an oath to the Imperial ancestors to observe the law, stating that the Constitution was the "exposition of grand precepts for the conduct of the Government bequeathed by the Imperial ancestors." As Mr. Hozumi says, these facts relating to the Constitution "will be sufficient to show that the sovereignty of Japan is the heritage of Imperial ancestors, and that the foundation of the Constitution is ancestor-worship."

It is easy to understand why adoption forms so large a part in Japanese law and in the national life. It is, above all, essential that there shall be no interruption in the veneration of the family ancestors. It is easy, also, to realize how it is that the daughters of a Japanese house are never regarded as of equal value to the house of their birth as the sons; for the daughters, when they marry, join their husbands in the veneration of his family ancestors, and do not continue the veneration of their own.

The effect upon the living of their duties to the dead, and to future generations, is enormous. All through their life the Japanese have the responsibility not only of living up to the reputation of their ancestors, but of being good ancestors in their own turn. In Japan, death begins responsibilities on this earth rather than diminishing or ending them. The action of the Japanese Emperor in ennobling worthy subjects or granting them other marks of honour on their death-bed or after death accentuates this idea.

It is interesting to note one phase of the effect produced on the race by the influence of ancestor-worship as demonstrated by their actions on the field of battle. The Japanese people are not well fitted to be soldiers. Their whole life and training is the reverse of military. The conscripts who form the army are largely drawn from

amongst the agricultural classes, who are practically vegetarians. As such they have never grown accustomed to the sight of blood-spilling even for food. They are educated and artistic, both factors which might be expected to militate against their proving themselves successful soldiers. But their history shows nothing of the kind, rather has it demonstrated their efficiency above other troops. In bravery, endurance, dash, resource, and daring they have no equals. "Never to degrade in any way the good name of the ancestor" is a powerful enough motive to make the most timid Japanese soldier a hero. The Japanese soldiers under General Nogi at Port Arthur were fighting to give rest to the spirits of those who fell before and after the capture of the fortress ten years ago. A Japanese professor, writing before the fall in 1905, thus expressed the sentiment which sent men again and again up blood-stained slopes, through wire entanglements, and over precipices to victory :—

"After the retrocession, more than one hundred soldiers who had fought in Manchuria took it as the blackest stain on our national honour, as an unparalleled humiliation of a nation, which had never before been humiliated by a foreign Power. They wished to put this on record, and so they wrote their protest with their own blood by committing *hara-kiri*, by the ancient right of the samurai, which says to the world that they would rather die than see dishonour. In their dreams, in the eyes of their imagination, the fighting men of Japan to-day see the ghosts of these men wandering over Port Arthur in company with those of many hundreds of other men who had fallen before Port Arthur in storming it and taking it from the Chinese. These spirits of the dead, in the existence of which we of the Far East believe quite as much as the Christians of the West believe in the immortality of the soul, cannot find rest and peace as long as that stronghold is in possession of a Power which humiliated us some ten

years ago, in the days of national exhaustion, at the end of the Chino-Japanese War."

It was primarily to the spirits of the dead that Admiral Togo solemnly offered the news of the destruction of the Russian fleet during his visit to Tokyo. He said on this occasion, "Standing before your spirits, I can hardly express my feelings. Your passing from the world has been in the gallant discharge of your duty. Our combined fleet retains the undisputed control of the seas. I trust that this will bring peace and rest to your spirits. I have been called by the Emperor to report our successes to the spirits of those who sacrificed their earthly existence for the attainment of so great a result." This formal order of the day to the army of the dead is one of the most illuminating glimpses which the outside world has been afforded of Japanese character. Who can say that the Japanese are materialists in belief with such a striking example to contradict them? General Nogi, at the memorial service for the dead before Port Arthur, desired "to share the honour of victory with the spirits of those who died in order to achieve success." With the incentive of these uneasy, unpropitiated spirits around them, the Japanese troops were invincible, and conquered where any other troops would have failed. The Japanese soldier has both a positive and a negative force behind him, rendering it impossible to be afraid. It is a moral courage which is higher than the merely physical. To die, having accomplished something for Japan, that is, indeed, glory! No service is too hazardous, no work too menial or too degrading, the Japanese soldier can dare and endure everything for his ancestors and his country.

What a power there is in a religion such as this, which makes common people—men, women, and children—heroes, and which provides as a formula for everyday life, "To do nothing that is shameful! To live so as to become a good ancestor, and in nothing to degrade in any way the good name of one's ancestors!"

CHAPTER V

TRUE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

ONE of the most striking features of Japan is the fact that there exists not only absolute religious freedom, but the fullest tolerance of all religions. Not only is there no State Church, but in the national consideration the various religions concerned are held in absolute equality.

The Japanese maintain that a State Church does not tend to the advancement or the well-being of the nation. While the Government encourages the Shinto religion, which is a direct system of support to the State, it is only in its non-religious and civic duties, by the superintendence and control of Shinto temples and their non-religious priests. The idea of a State religion is too narrow for a people which finds in every religion and every creed some elements of the same fundamental truth. Any one who wishes to gain an understanding of the religious ideas of the Japanese must definitely remove from his mind the commonly held theory of "one man, one religion." It would be impossible for the Japanese to admit that any one teacher, or any one founder of a religion, could have the monopoly in seeing the way of truth. Their tolerance enables them to successfully combine several religions to aid them in their daily life. From each they draw something which helps them towards that right living which they regard as one of the essential duties of the individual, of the community, and of the nation.

A very good idea of this blending of religions is given

by the eminent authority on Japanese subjects, the Rev. William Elliott Griffis, in the following passage :—

“ In the Imperial and Constitutional Japan of our day it is still true of probably thirty-eight (now forty-four) millions of Japanese that their religion is not one—Shinto, Confucianism, or Buddhism—but an amalgamation of all three. There is not in everyday life that sharp distinction between these religions which the native theologian or scholar makes, and which history and philosophy demand shall be made for the student, at least. Using the technical language of Christian theologians, Shinto furnishes theology, Confucianism anthropology, and Buddhism soteriology. The average Japanese learns about the gods, and draws inspiration for his patriotism from Shinto, maxims for his ethical and social life from Confucius, and his hope of what he regards as salvation from Buddhism. Or, as a native scholar, Nobuta Kishimoto, expresses it, in Japan these three different systems of religions and morality are not only living together on friendly terms with one another, but, in fact, are blended together in the minds of the people, who draw necessary nourishment from all these sources. One and the same Japanese is both a Shintoist, a Confucianist, and a Buddhist. He plays a triple part, so to speak. Shintoism furnishes the object, Confucianism offers the rules of life, while Buddhism supplies the way of salvation.”

Baron Suyematsu, to whose able pen the world owes so many insights into Japanese conditions, writing recently, said—

“ I can say, broadly speaking, that all Japanese belong to both Shintoism and Buddhism at one and the same time. As a matter of fact, all Japanese, before the restoration of the Imperial *régime* in 1868, had to belong to both religions. In those days Shintoism was not looked upon as a religion, in the sense in which religion is ordinarily understood in the West. There was, in each

communal corporation or section of such, or in a few such corporations or sections in common, as the case might be, one or other Shinto deity, consecrated in a temple, and regarded as the guardian god of those portions of the land somewhat in the same fashion as a country, or part of a country, in the West has a patron saint. The people residing in the district formed a sort of congregation, and supported that temple, quite independently of their connection with the Buddhistic congregation to which they belonged. The peculiar difference between these two kinds of congregation was, that the Shinto congregations owed their formation mainly to considerations of locality, whilst the Buddhist ones were more in the nature of assemblies of individual families, somewhat similar to the congregations of the West. Broadly speaking, matters relating to temporal affairs belonged to the sphere of Shintoism, and those relating to spiritual ones belonged to the sphere of Buddhism. The spirit of Shintoism was clean and bright, whilst that of Buddhism was gloomy and dark. Confucianism is not regarded as a religion any more than are the sayings of Socrates, Plato, or Aristotle. Confucian precepts of morality pervade every branch of our culture, it is true. But Confucianism is with us only cultivated as tending toward elevation of intelligence and of ethical notions, never as a religion. This being the case, both Shintoism and Buddhism are very good friends with Confucianism. As a matter of fact, both Buddhism and Shintoism rely upon Confucianism to a great extent, so far as practical ethical teachings are concerned; inasmuch as the latter, defective as it may be, is richer than themselves in that respect.

"Shintoism," he says further, "is essentially a creed founded upon reverence of ancestors, conjointly with a love of the 'fatherland,' and likewise of the exalted personage who mirrors the best traditions of our common ancestors, and exercises the wisest control over our land ;

hence loyalty and patriotism are the most important features of the creed, as regards its outward manifestations. All foreign creeds, be they Confucianism or Buddhism, when once transplanted to the soil of Japan, become gradually imbued with the spirit which animates Shintoism. Thus, Confucianism in Japan is not the Confucianism of China. The great Chinese teaching, with all its wealth of fine maxims and sayings, is made full use of; but it is Japanified. In Japan, it has been re-vivified, as it were, and breathes a new atmosphere, wherein it is strengthened and purified, until it is nationalised and becomes identified with all our notions of loyalty and patriotism, to the degree that it seems almost to assume concrete form. The case is the same with regard to Buddhism. It is no longer the Buddhism of China, still less that of India. It is Japanified. It is imbued with a spirit similar to that infused into Confucianism; though perhaps there may be a little difference in degree, owing to the very fact that Buddhism is a religion, whereas Confucianism is not."

"The essence of Shintoism is cleanness of conscience. The commonest prayer of it runs: 'Our eyes may see some uncleanness, but let not our mind see things that are not clean. Our ears may hear some uncleanness, but let not our mind hear things that are not clean,' and so forth. Shintoism has no particular dogma! It has no sacred books, except some, perhaps, on ancient history, and about two dozen texts in the form of set prayers, if these may be called sacred writing at all! It is a poor creed in the ordinary sense of a religion, but it holds Japanese minds in a powerful grasp, sublimely contented with its simple tenets. There is an old Japanese poem attributed to Sugawara Michizane, which says: 'So long as a man's mind is in accord with the way of truthfulness, the gods will guard him though he may not pray.' This is about correct as a delineation of the Shinto faith. It worships heavenly deities as well as some deified spirits of human

beings, and more in the sense of reverence and thanksgiving for the good they have done and given to posterity, than as channels for obtaining new benefits. Hence it has no compunction in worshipping one deity one day and another the next day, or even simultaneously. . . . It had no founder, no propagator ; it was a national institution of unique form, having sprung up from traditions of time immemorial. It was only about two decades ago that the idea of attributing to it a religious character struck some interested people as having been necessitated by the tendencies of the age. Shintoism, however, is not even now regarded wholly as a religion, only part of it is esteemed a religion. This is a fine distinction, almost unintelligible, perhaps, to outsiders ; but it is nevertheless true. The communal temples, as well as all the larger and higher temples with their priests, are regarded quite apart from religion as the term is employed in the Occident. They still constitute a national institution of a character that is unique. But there are many voluntary congregations which are called *Kiokwai*, i.e. teaching associations, (not to be confounded with the communal congregations referred to in a preceding page) ; and those congregations have their ministers, to whom the title of preachers (*kio-shi*) is given. Such a congregation generally have a connection with some large popular temple, but is not directly concerned therein. These congregations form that part of Shintoism which is to be regarded as a religion.

“Shintoism also has some notions of the future world ; but they are vague, and certainly not so picturesque as those of Buddhism. It firmly believes in the immortality of the soul, but it puts more stress on temporal affairs than spiritual ones. In the philosophical conclusion reached by some Shintoists with regard to the soul, it seems to be regarded as a manifestation of a particle of that great spirit which pervades the universe—shall I say a sort of

Pantheism, in this respect?—and that, after one's death, it returns to or becomes amalgamated with, as it were, the original essence, capable, nevertheless, of still being individualized, so far as it is concerned with the faith of those who venerate the reminiscences of its former mundane possessor. Certain chastisements are meted out hereafter to the soul which is not free from pollution on account of crooked conduct in this world. As to the people at large, however, they assign the domain of the future to Buddhism as explained before; and in their minds, if there were a future world at all, there could not be several such, existing separately for different creeds, so it would not matter under what name or by which route they travelled thither. Buddhism, as reflected in the minds of the common people, is a religion capable of philosophical interpretations, or rather founded upon philosophy; and there are many sects of it in Japan, each drawing fine distinctions in relation to its creed. But are these philosophical phases or fine distinctions of each creed conveyed to the minds of, let us say, aged rustics or children? I must answer No! In the Buddhism as reflected to them, there is an eternal soul in every individual. There are paradise and hell. There is future life for every individual. All this is much in accord with the religions of the Occident. . . . There are many expressions that indicate that there is an Elysium, and that it is somewhere in the Western sky; also, that there is an Inferno, and that we may go or be born somewhere in those places after our death. But what part of us does do so? Surely not our physical part! Philosophy explains the doctrines of transmigration by the theory of Karma, basing its manifestations on 'cause' and 'effect.' . . . No such philosophy, however, is intelligible to the minds of the common folk. If we can go anywhere at all after our death, it must be our spirit that migrates, *i.e.* the soul. The common folks have no ear for the philosophical interpretation of the

'after-life' in the philosophical sense of the Karmatic theory. When the theory of 'cause and effect' is taught, the common folk generally understand it as implying that 'cause and effect' which mean the process precipitating the salvation or non-salvation of the soul; it is the shortest way to understand. These are the only popular and common-sense interpretations. The popular Buddhist notions of one's future life in the halcyon fields up above is most commonly represented as sitting and enjoying one's self on a lotus flower in the heavenly lake."

Which is a popular opinion of paradise not dissimilar to the Western idea of wings and a golden harp!

The Japanese Buddhism, adapted to the needs of the country, is best shown in the *Shin* sect of Buddhist. This is second in numerical strength to the *Zen* sect, but much more powerful. "It teaches," says Dr. Clement, "that morality is as important as faith; or, in quite familiar words, that 'faith without words is death.' It is monotheistic, as it worships only one Buddha. It alone of all Buddhist sects provides a way of salvation for women. It upholds a high standard of education." The priests of this sect are allowed to marry, to eat flesh and fish. Its great progress is to be ascribed to the fact that it is the most purely national of the Buddhist sects. It was founded in 1220, and speedily became popular, every effort being made to break down the barriers between the priests and the people. All the *Shin* writings are in Japanese characters, which is again different from the other sects.

One of the great reasons why these three systems of teaching Shintoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism are able to exist and work harmoniously together is undoubtedly because they have all been materially affected by the same force, which is the dominant force in Japan now, as it has been in the past. "Without going into historical details, it will suffice to say that this paramount idea of loyalty and the intense feeling of patriotism, which are

synonyms in the case of Japan, were the principal agencies in this amalgamation," states a Japanese writer, in summing up this trinity of religions held by all the inhabitants of his empire. "Neither Confucianism nor Buddhism could have gained a foothold in Japan unless they had adapted themselves to these cardinal principles of the native religion. Hence it has resulted that Confucianism and Buddhism as propagated in Japan differ materially from those cults as taught in their native countries. For instance, the Confucian doctrine of loyalty was mildly construed in China on account of numerous dynastic changes. In Japan, where one dynasty has occupied the throne from time immemorial, it was taught and observed in letter and in spirit."

Through everything run these dominant forces; patriotism and loyalty and all religions must be subservient to them. In a Japanese school the boys were once asked what the Japanese should do were an army to invade Japan, led by Buddha, Confucius, and Mencius. The answer was given without hesitation, that it would be the duty of the Japanese people to fight against the enemy threatening the fatherland, even when led by the great teachers of Japan's religion. The nation is always held superior to the individual, and the State is greater than any religion. It is of interest to recall the fact that when, directly after the restoration, the Japanese Government was endeavouring to encourage the spread of Shinto doctrines by means of official missionaries, the following three injunctions were laid upon them: they were to preach the fear of the gods and the love of the fatherland; to explain the laws of nature and sound morals; to serve the Emperor and to obey his orders. These injunctions sum up very succinctly the attitude of the Japanese Government towards religion. Patriotism and loyalty are the first two essentials, the necessity for right living, and good morals is the third. The Government interests itself

very much in this question, and holds that the supervision of morals is a duty, since they constitute a force which cannot fail but have great effect upon the future of the nation.

In 1895 the Department for Home Affairs issued a circular which showed how keenly alive the Government is to the necessity of this adequate supervision of religious matters. The circular was addressed to the hierarchy of the Buddhist and Shinto Churches, and contained the suggestion that great care should be taken to ensure the priests being mentally and morally qualified to fill such important posts. The circular contended "that priests charged with the grave duty of giving instruction in religion and morals ought to combine both learning and virtue, so as to command the full respect of, and set a good example to, the people." If the priests are not thus fit, the Government is exposed to a danger of a decline of morality among the people. Should the Christian Church become a purely Japanese one, the Government may be trusted to look after the qualifications of the ministers on the same grounds of national expediency. At present the Government has no share in the selection of foreign missionaries, and has often to see the control of the various Christian Churches in the hands of foreigners, who do not at all come up to the Japanese standard thought necessary for a teacher of morals and religion.

Freedom of religion is guaranteed in the Japanese Constitution, and so rests upon no shadowy foundation of precedent and tradition. Article 28 states that, "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief." Marquis Ito, the framer of the Constitution, comments upon this article by saying that "belief and conviction are operations of the mind. As to forms of worship, to religious discourses, to the mode of propagating a religion, and to

the formation of religious associations and meetings, some general legal or police restrictions must be observed for the maintenance of public peace and order. No believer in this or that religion has a right to place himself outside the pale of the law of the empire, on the ground of serving his god, and to free himself from his duties to the State, which, as a subject, he is bound to discharge. Thus, although freedom of religious belief is complete, and exempt from all restrictions, so long as manifestations of it are confined to the mind ; yet with regard to external matters, such as forms of worship and the mode of propagandism, certain necessary restrictions of law or regulations must be provided for, and, besides, the general duties of subjects must be observed. This is what the Constitution decrees, and it shows the relation in which political and religious rights stand toward each other."

Always the safety of the State and the duty of the subject first !

Baron Suyematsu says, "Perfect freedom of conscience is guaranteed by the Constitution, and not the slightest difference is made in the eyes of the law on account of religion, and in social intercourse it is the same. . . . The Salvation Army is parading our streets under the command of its English officers. Even the Mormons are allowed to preach, though under strict conditions which bind them not to attempt to proselytize as regards polygamy, which is contrary to our laws. With these facts in view one might even say that we, as a nation, are almost too tolerant."

In the handbook of the Imperial Government for the International Exposition at St. Louis is found the following official summary of the present religious situation in Japan. "In Japan, the absolute freedom of religious belief and practice is constitutionally guaranteed, provided that such belief and practice are not prejudicial to peace and order. The two principal religions of Japan are Shintoism,

comprising twelve sects, and Buddhism, which is divided into thirteen sects. Confucianism, the doctrine of which was greatly advanced by Mencius, cannot properly be termed a religion, as it purposes to teach ethical, but not religious conceptions of morality; but its hold upon Japanese minds is even to-day so strong that one cannot get at the psychological characteristics of the Japanese people without taking this doctrine into consideration. In recent years Christianity has made a remarkable progress, both as to its influence and the number of its believers. It will, however, require some years of perseverance on the part of its devotees before it takes a prominent position in the domain of religion in Japan, owing to the greater influence exercised by the older religions and Confucianism. The Government assumes an impartial attitude towards all these religions. Hence, there exists no system of State religion nor any religion especially favoured by the State. In 1901, there were 84,038 Shinto temples and 1168 students. Buddhist temples in the same year numbered 71,788, bonze 11,735, and students 1168. There were also 1389 licensed preachers and 1055 churches and preaching stations of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Protestant Churches. Shrines dedicated to the eminent ancestors of the Emperor, and to meritorious subjects, are found in considerable number, and are free from any religious sect, some of them being supported by State or local authorities. At the end of the year 1901 the number of such shrines was 195,256, and that of ritualists attached to these shrines was 16,365."

One of the most striking instances of Japanese religious tolerance is shown in the case of the Russian Greek Orthodox Church in Japan, which has its headquarters in Tokyo. This Church owes its being and its success to a Russian bishop, Bishop Nicolai, a remarkable man, indefatigable in his zeal. He has developed his Church along

the only lines possible to enable a foreign religion to make real progress in Japan. He recognized the vital necessity of allowing the Japanese to work their mission for themselves, and before the war he had only four Russian missionaries to 152 native pastors and evangelists in his Church. Since the war began, two at least of the Russian missionaries left, and thus the Greek Orthodox Church in Japan is in the hands of the Japanese, under the direction of the bishop. How far from learning this lesson are other foreign missions, may be judged from the fact that the Protestant Churches have only 494 native pastors and evangelists to 789 missionaries, while the Roman Catholics have only 98 to 229. The Japanese Government successfully took great pains to prevent there being any disturbance of this Greek Orthodox mission during the war. A very remarkable letter testifying to this fact was published in the *Novoe Vremya* on June 13, 1904, from Bishop Nicolai. He states that, "Thanks to the protection of the Japanese Government, the Greek Catholics in Japan have enjoyed the fullest religious liberty since the outbreak of the war. In addition, the mission is exposed to no danger whatever, the mission houses being guarded by the police and gendarmerie day and night. Furthermore, the Japanese Government has instructed the prefectural governors to specially protect the mission, and the followers of the Greek faith are everywhere peacefully prosecuting their religious duties."

There were not wanting newspapers in Russia, however, objecting to a Russian bishop leading the prayers of a number of Christians who were praying for Japanese victories. To this the *Seikyo Shimpō* (Greek Church paper) answered, that no Japanese Christian expected Bishop Nicolai to pray for a Japanese victory, and Bishop Nicolai was aware that the Japanese Christians were praying for their country's success. Japanese Christians would not be fulfilling their duties as subjects of the Emperor did they

not thus pray. The Greek Church of Japan and Bishop Nicolai have done much in the way of sending books and pamphlets to the Russian prisoners of war lodged in various localities, and the *Seikyo Shimpō* expressed great satisfaction to find that members of its Church were found manifesting Christian sympathy with Russian prisoners.

In his letter to the *Novoe Vremya*, Bishop Nicolai drew attention to the fact that the work of the Greek Church had been very little affected by the war. The number of baptisms during the past year had been 720, and the number of workers had risen from 188 to 198.

Although this treatment of the Greek Church during a time of stress is only a minor point, it demonstrates in a manner which should not be overlooked, the tolerance which the Japanese have in religious matters. This tolerance is not one of the most marked characteristics in Christian Europe; it is a fundamental element in the Japanese nation. Renjo Akamatzu, a Buddhist priest educated in Europe, and who spent some years in England and Germany, studying in the latter as a pupil of Max Muller, is strongly of opinion that there is more liberality and religious tolerance among the people of Japan, particularly among the younger generation, than ever before. "We recognize," he says, "Christianity as a permanent institution. I think, judging from observation alone, that the Christian Church here should get along without aid from abroad. . . . There is no reason why Buddhism and Christianity cannot exist in Japan without friction, because both appeal to the hearts and minds of men, and there are those who would be better satisfied with one than with the other. The Christians have gathered in a great many Japanese who had left the Buddhist Church and were without a religion. Religion has become a matter of individual opinion among the educated classes in Japan, as it is among similar classes in other countries, and they should study both and find out which is more suitable to

their wants. . . . It is impossible to say that one religion is better than another ; they are all based, more or less, upon faith and mysteries, and every one has his own tests as he has his own wants. The effect of all religions should be to make men good, just as the effect of science is to make them clever. Individually, I believe that Buddhism is better for the Japanese than Christianity, and it is probable that any Christian you might ask would express the same belief regarding his own religion as applied to America and Europe . . . but all genuine religions and all honest sects have the same purpose and the same tendency. . . . I encourage all of my students and friends to study Christianity and other religions, because it makes them broad-minded. It can do no harm to any intelligent man to investigate other religions than his own. I do not believe in proselytizing. I would never ask a Christian to become a Buddhist, but if he should come to me and ask me to explain the creed and the principle of my religion, I should take great pleasure in doing it. . . . I do not think it is right for a Buddhist or a Christian missionary to try and coax people to leave one religion and accept another. . . . One of the chief principles of Buddhism is tolerance. The Buddhist priests came to China and to Japan from India, not to destroy other religions, but to offer consolations to those who desired it. Our Church has never carried a propaganda by force. It never attempted to overthrow any Church that existed before it, but practically amalgamated with Shintoism and Confucianism. All three tolerate each other, and it is not inconsistent for the same person to accept certain doctrines in each of them. I am a Buddhist, but I accept certain points in the Shinto faith. . . . I hope that there will be peace and goodwill and cordial feelings between members of different Churches. Religion should make men friendly and charitable, as they were taught both by Christ and Buddha. It is incomprehensible to me when I hear of violence being

used in propagating or defending religious doctrines. True religion as Christ taught it is peace and love, and yet His followers have been fighting each other for eighteen centuries. The followers of Buddha have not done that. We have had bad men in our Church, and there has been fighting among Buddhists, but it was only about worldly matters, and not concerning doctrines." *

Where does one find amongst the exponents of Christianity such frank tolerance and recognition of good in another, a rival religion? Another Buddhist priest says of the Christian missionaries:—

"We are interested in their methods, and several of our priests are studying Christianity carefully. It is because Christianity is so interesting that I have travelled abroad in Christian countries when I have had the opportunity. Of course, we see a great deal of it in Japan. . . . The missionary college is a good example to us, for it shows us how we can be useful in educating the people. We hope there will be schools in all our large temples before long. We ourselves are just beginning, and, of course, are ignorant of many things, but our priests are learning. Some of them are studying in America, and some in Europe—in London, Paris, and Berlin—and are getting much useful knowledge. They are greatly interested in the life of the Founder of Christianity, who seems to them to be what we call a Buddha—one who has attained perfection. His life and His teachings are noble, and we do not wonder at the tremendous power they have exercised in the Western world. We do wonder sometimes, however, why Christian nations have so many wars. Many of the ideas that our priests find in studying Christianity are in harmony with what we teach in Hongwanji. To keep the heart pure and to act towards others as you wish others to act towards you are the chief ideas in Christianity, I think, and we Buddhists believe the same. We do not see great differences

* *Chicago Record.*

among the Christian sects that we have studied. All of them seem to be helpful, each to its own members, and the different theologies are interesting in helping us to understand the Western mind. Both the Roman Catholic Church and the Salvation Army teach us a great deal, though they differ so greatly in methods of work. Each has the same object in view—to save men from evil. That is what Buddhists wish to do too, and in that Buddhists and Christians can work side by side. We have about forty sects of Christians at work in Japan. . . . We are glad to have many sects come, because we can learn something from each one. Sometimes it is a surprise to us that these sects do not agree better together. We have many sects of Buddhism, but each has plenty to do without writing to the newspapers about other sects. I have seen some strange letters in the *Japan Mail*, and in other papers published in English in Yokohama and Kobe. I wish, too, that the Christian missionaries would study Buddhism more. Once in a while I see something by a missionary about our religion in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, but not very often. I think that some foreign missionaries do not study Buddhism at all. I should think they would wish to understand us. We wish to understand them, but it is not possible for one to understand a people unless one studies that people's religion. A part of the training of the members of our diplomatic service, whom the Foreign Office sends out to represent our country abroad, is to study the religion of the countries they are going to. We should be glad at any time to assist any missionaries who might wish to learn about Buddhism in Japan. We have collected many books on this subject, as well as on the subject of Buddhism in general. . . . We should be pleased to have our brothers of another faith study these volumes."

That the establishment of Christianity as the predominating religious belief in a country where such tolerance

exists has not been accomplished, reflects only upon its inefficiency to meet the existing requirements. Indeed, as a Buddhist priest remarked: "Suppose our Emperor should be induced to accept Christianity as a national religion, as some missionaries have suggested he might do, and before doing so should send a commission to the great Christian nations to ascertain what effect their religion has had upon the morals and lives of the people. They would be compelled to report that there is no such folly and wickedness and degradation in Tokyo, or in any of our other cities, as they would find in London and Paris, New York or Chicago, and when the statistics of poverty and crime were compared, I am very sure the Emperor would be convinced that Buddhism was better suited to the welfare of Japan than Christianity."

There is a just rebuke contained in the comparison of the Buddhist and Christian faiths, as given by another Buddhist priest, who says—

"You have no more right to judge of my religion by the excrescences the ignorant have attached to it than I have to judge of the Church of England by the Salvation Army which I saw in the streets of London. No one can understand or appreciate Buddhism without serious study, any more than any other religion. . . . I find in the Christian religion much that almost parallels our own. I can accept nearly everything in your confession of faith; by that I mean the Apostles' Creed that you recite in your Church Service, and which I take to be a condensed form of your belief. I, too, believe in 'God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth,' although I may not call Him by that name or worship Him as you do. I believe in Jesus Christ, who was one of the most sublime and beautiful characters that ever existed, and is worthy of the worship and the emulation of every Buddhist. There is nothing in the life or teachings of Christ that conflicts with those of Buddha. You will find a very

striking similarity in their teachings. Buddha preceded Christ by 500 years, and if Christ was not familiar with his writings, it is entirely possible that he may have been—there is a most remarkable parallel in their lives, the channels of their thought and their code of morals. . . . I believe also in the Holy Catholic Church—that is, a Church universal, a religion that may apply to all men, and under whose shelter all suffering souls can find rest. I presume that is what it means. And I believe in ‘the communion of saints’—that is, the intercourse of the spirits of the dead—and ‘in the life everlasting’—that is, the immortality of the soul. . . . The Great Creator implanted in the breast of every man an instinct which leads him to worship a Supreme Being which may be called by any name. . . . This instinct has developed among mankind into what we call religion, and that development has been governed by local conditions, customs, and habits. For example, the people of the desert worship water, which represents to them the source of life, their greatest blessing. Other people worship the sun for a similar reason. Different forms and ceremonies have become attached to these religions, and are practised by believers, but they are simply by the expressions of religious emotions and not an integral part of the religion itself. You ring a bell and play an organ and have choirs to sing in your churches. We pound a drum for a similar purpose. Nobody with sufficient intelligence to understand the Buddhist faith believes that this drum is beaten to awaken a god. Superstition has become attached to it by the ignorant people, but there is no use in trying to correct the impression, because the superstition is harmless. Nor do we worship idols. Your missionaries have misrepresented Buddhism in this respect ever since they first saw our form of worship. The image is nothing of itself—a block of wood or an ordinary stone would answer the same purpose—but it is a symbol of an invisible being,

sometimes beautiful and sometimes rude, according to the art and intelligence of the man who makes it. It represents the object of our worship, just like your cross and the image of Christ and the Virgin Mary. We have no image to represent the Supreme Being. We cannot conceive what He looks like. But we have representations, more or less rude, of our deities, just as a Catholic church has pictures of its saints, and we dedicate our temples to this or that deity, just as your churches are dedicated to St. Paul, or St. John, or St. Thomas. . . . The development of the religious instinct is like the development of art, literature, and industry. It follows an evolution as civilization advances and the human mind acquires culture. The African savage who worships a fetish is inspired by the same motive, and is just as sincere as the Pope when he says Mass in St. Peter's. The only difference is in the degree of civilization acquired by the worshipper. Your own Church was once in the same condition in regard to intelligence as the Buddhist believers are now. Perhaps it was worse than we ever were, because our priests have always taught peace and love, while millions of innocent persons have been sacrificed in supporting theological controversies in the Christian Church."

Dr. Ernest W. Clement says in his "Handbook of Modern Japan," "there are to-day probably thousands of Japanese who would readily accept Christianity by simply adding the image of Jesus to their present collection, and giving it equal honour with those of Buddha and their ancestors. They might easily incorporate Jehovah in their pantheon; but they find difficulty in appreciating the intolerance of Christians in having 'no other gods besides' Jehovah."

It is not only this intolerance which sets the Japanese against the Christian teachings, but also the narrowness and intolerance displayed amongst themselves by the different Christian sects. There are no fewer than forty

separate brands of Christianity offered for Japanese consumption, and it must be hard for them to recognize the infinite value of a religion which is, first of all, so divided amongst itself, and second, so bitter in these minor divisions. To the educated and intellectual classes this multiplicity of choice in the ways of salvation is somewhat puzzling, more especially as they feel that, with regard to ethical training, the creeds offered for their adoption by the various missionaries are vastly lower in the standard of simplicity and clearness than their own ethical code. But they say frankly that Christianity is good for the ignorant, the lower classes, because of the mystery which the centuries have wound around its fundamental truth. These mysteries render the religion more acceptable to the uneducated, where the simpler, more direct teachings of Bushido would be too high for comprehension.

So much has been made of the persecutions of the Christians under the early missionaries, and so many even serious thinkers are still to be found in Europe who declare that the extermination of Christianity in the early days is one of the darkest blots upon Japan's record, that it will not be out of place to go a little into the details of the question. Francis Xavier arrived in Japan in 1549, and was received by the Prince of Satsuma with considerable cordiality, for he wrote of the Japanese in 1550 in a way which shows very clearly that at the beginning of the intercourse with the Christian missionaries there was no ill-feeling. "I really think," he wrote, "that among barbarian nations there can be none that has more natural goodness than Japan. The Japanese are wonderfully inclined to all that is good and honest, and have eagerness to learn." The doctrines taught were not at all strange to the Japanese, conversant with the ethical truths of Bushido. Also, the Japanese desire to trade was one of the great reasons for giving permission to preach, and when the Portuguese traders went elsewhere, the Prince of Kagoshima

forbade the missionaries to preach or proselytize. The Prince of Omura became a convert, and the missionaries and merchants proposed to him that they should be granted jurisdiction and possession over Nagasaki. This arrangement was later made. "The Prince of Omura had the town laid out in appropriate streets, and Christian churches were built on the sites of Buddhist temples, which were torn down to give place for them. It is said that in A.D. 1567 there was hardly a person who was not a Christian."

The reason for this rapid spread of Christianity is given very accurately in the following quotation from Helmholt's "The History of the World":—

"The land was torn by dissension and war, which had utterly destroyed the economic prosperity of the middle and lower classes of the population. . . . The Christian missionaries found numerous converts from the very outset; to the poor and miserable the Christian missionaries promised immediately upon their death the joys of that paradise of which the Buddhists only held out a prospect after long trials and vicissitudes. By the splendour of its services, by its numerous and mystic ceremonies, in which the converted were themselves allowed to take a part, Christianity defeated its adversaries on their own ground."

Dealing with the early days of Christianity in Japan, the following extracts from ancient Japanese books are of value. In one book we are told that in 1557 a priest arrived at Karatou in a trading vessel, and taught Christianity.

This was a very distinguished and learned man. He worked day and night for his religion. Peasants, artisans, and merchants from Karatou and Fukae (Nagasaki) flocked to hear him, and many were converted. This priest gave to those who entered his sect curious objects, of gold or silver, according to their rank. The following is one of the means which he employed in order to spread the religion of Kirishitan. He offered glasses and elegant

ornaments to the men of the highest society, wine and liqueurs to those who loved to drink, all kinds of cakes to others, and he showed much friendship towards the Japanese. During the period of Eiroku (1558-1569), the sect of Kirishitan flourished at Kyoto. Following the example of the nobles and warriors, the people were converted with great ease, without troubling to ascertain whether the new religion was right or wrong."

Nobunaga, one of the great men of Japan, more powerful than the Emperor of his time, and a great military genius, was in control of affairs at this time, and came into conflict with the Buddhist priests as his Government became more powerful, and "the action of the Buddhist priests in siding with his enemies, and the consequent aversion with which he regarded them, led him to favour the establishment of Christian churches." He was pitiless against the Buddhists, and in 1571 burned a famous monastery and drove the few monks that survived into exile. Although he remained friendly to the Christian Church, he made no progress towards conversion.

Another old book describes the interview of Nobunaga with one of the early missionaries, named Uragan :—

"In the 11th year of the period of Eiroku (1568) the stranger arrived at the town of Azuchi, and rested during three days in a Buddhist temple called Mioho-ji. Then, invited by Oda Nobunaga, he presented himself before him in his castle and gave him ten guns, eight telescopes, some microscopes, one hundred pounds of *bois d'aloës*, fifty tiger skins, etc. When he saw him, Oda Nobunaga, full of curiosity, had him asked by an interpreter why he was come to Japan. Uragan replied that he wished to spread *boutsupo* (the religion of Buddha). Oda had the stranger lodged in the Mioho-ji temple, and ordered one of his officers to offer him the most generous hospitality. A council was held before Oda Nobunaga soon after to discuss the subject of the preaching of Christianity. The

learned man, Dosen, wished to warn the prince against this religion, but Oda Nobunaga would not listen, saying, 'There is no sect of Buddhism which has not come from foreign countries. We cannot say beforehand whether Uragan may not spread some marvellous doctrine. Let him be free to make known his religion.' And he gave to Uragan some ground at Kyoto, where he had him built a church, regardless of expense, by Sugaya Kaemen, one of his officers."

Christianity was at first regarded as a Buddhist sect. Under Oda Nobunaga many of the priests pretended that they had come to teach Buddhism. A native Christian priest called Keishun always spoke of the new god as *Tentei Niorai* (Buddha, lord of the heavens). In an old letter of authorization, given by a daimio to a missionary for the erection of a Christian church, the permission is given to the "priest come from the West, who wishes to spread Buddhism (*boutsupo*)."

The missionaries also reaped advantage from the fact that they came at the time of the first commercial developments, and were closely connected with it in the minds of the Japanese.

Everything was favourable to the missionaries, and the religion of Kirishitan was advancing by bounds. It was only lack of judgment and abuse of the power given them that led to the ruin of the Christian cause in Japan. The priests and their converts destroyed temples and persecuted the Buddhist and Shintoist monks and bonzes. Intolerant and oppressive in the extreme, they initiated the Japanese religious bodies into the methods of the Inquisition. Nobunaga supported the missionaries while he lived, for during his lifetime the missionaries, though they had committed many minor offences against other religious sects and individuals, had not mixed to any great extent in politics. In other words, they had not directly menaced the safety of the Japanese nation and empire. The Church reached its highest prosperity during the closing years of this

reign, it being estimated that there were no less than 600,000 professing Christians. Japanese missions were sent from the Christian princes to the Pope and Europe, where they were excellently received. It was these missions which first awakened distrust in the hearts of the Japanese rulers, for in the letters to the Pope it was seen that they placed loyalty to the Pope before loyalty to Japan. The Pope, Gregory XIII., in 1585, seeing the necessity for peaceful progress, decreed that only Jesuit religious teachers should be allowed in Japan. This was very much resented by the Dominicans and Franciscans, whose evasion of the decree in various ways resulted in an even more bitter state of feelings between the different orders than existed before.

That the conduct of the Christian missionaries was far from admirable the following extract will prove:—

“According to the evidence of Bishop Cerqueira, Christian traders robbed Japanese subjects and sold them into slavery to Macao. Christian missionaries destroyed native temples, and incited the converted populace to violence against the non-Christian community. Buddhist priests were robbed of their temples and their lands and illtreated, and converted native priests, such as Takeyama, gave, at the instigation of the missionaries, to their subjects the choice of either becoming Christian or being expelled from their territories.”

This is by no means incredible when the conduct of many of the present day missionaries, in China especially, is remembered. Seats on the magistrates' bench in favour of the converts, and other arrogation of the rights of legally appointed representatives of the country from which they come, added to the terrible revelations after the Boxer outbreak, show that, even in the nineteenth century, the missionaries are almost as much non-Christian in their behaviour as were the missionaries in Japan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The assumption of political power by the Christians sounded the death-knell of the movement, just as the political intrigues of the Buddhists had led to the suppression of the Buddhist missionaries. The State was menaced, and Christianity had to go. Hideyoshi, the successor of Nobunaga, as the leading man of Japan, was at first too occupied with military and political affairs to trouble about Christianity, but his eyes were opened to the necessity by the feuds between the Christian sects themselves, and by the overshadowing of the religious side of the missionaries by the political. Nor was there wanting direct menace from the outside world, and one of the things which first revealed to Hideyoshi the dangers of Christianity to Japan was contained in the prototype of Lord Salisbury's famous dictum concerning the relation of the missionary and the gunboat. A Spanish captain, Landeche, wrecked on the Japanese coast, boastingly said to his Japanese host—

“Our kings begin by sending into the country they wish to conquer their priests and monks, who induce the people to embrace their religion, and when these have made considerable progress, troops are sent to combine with the new Christians, and then our kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest.”

There is also another story told in Japanese history which, if true, and there is no logical reason to doubt it, might well have alarmed the rulers of Japan and made them determined to put an end to the Christian teachings. It is said that a Jesuit priest once remarked to a Japanese nobleman, to whom he was boasting of the power of the Jesuits: “My master, the Pope, will one day be the sovereign of the whole world!” “How can that be?” was the Japanese query. “The church sends out missionaries who convert the nations,” was the reply, “and when all the nations are converted to the faith of Rome, the Pope will be the ruler of the world.”

Hideyoshi demanded from the Jesuits and Christians an explanation as to why they used force in the promulgation of their creed, and incited their followers to the destruction of the existing temples and priesthood, and also on what grounds the traders enslaved his Japanese subjects and consumed as food animals used in agriculture? They did not make a satisfactory reply, and an edict of banishment was issued in 1587.

All things being considered, the proclamation issued by the great Hideyoshi seems mild, especially when the intolerance being displayed in religious matters in Europe at that era is taken into account. It was issued on July 25, 1587, and ran as follows:—

“We have learned from our faithful councillors that foreign clergy have come to our estates, where they preach a law contrary to that of Japan, and that they have had the audacity to destroy temples dedicated to our *Kami* and *Hotoke*. Although this outrage merits the most extreme punishment, we nevertheless wish to show them mercy. Therefore we order them to quit Japan within twenty days under pain of death. During that space of time no harm or hurt will be done to them. But we order that if any of them be found in our states at the expiration of that term, they shall be seized and punished as the greatest criminals. As for the Portuguese merchants, we permit them to enter our ports and to continue there their accustomed trade, and to remain in our estates, provided our affairs need it. But we forbid them to bring any foreign clergy into the country, under the penalty of the confiscation of their ships and goods.”

At first, this peremptory command not being enforced, the teachers did not go, and the merchants continued to bring them to Japan. In 1593, however, or after the warning had been in existence some six years, and after many teachers had been forcibly deported, occurred the arrest and execution of Franciscans and Jesuits under the

orders of the Government. That the feelings were against the alienation of the Christian converts rather than against their religious beliefs was shown in a marked manner by the fact that Hideyoshi employed as one of his great generals for the invasion of Korea, in 1592, a Christian named Konishi Yatinagi Tettsu-no-kami, known to the Jesuits as Don Austin. The persecution of the missionaries, and later of their converts, was because of their attacks upon the solidarity of that most sacred of all Japanese possessions—the country and the nation, and not upon their religious convictions. To Hideyoshi the question was purely a political one. He had no deep religious impressions which had led him to prefer the precepts of the old Japanese faith to those of Christianity. These systems could not apparently live together, and it seemed to him the safest and most sensible way to extinguish the weaker and more dangerous before it became too strong. The policy of repression which he initiated was taken up by his successor Ieyasu. In 1606 this latter issued a warning proclamation, calling attention to the fact that the edict of Hideyoshi against Christian proselytizing was being disregarded, and pointing out, “that it was for the good of the State that none should embrace the new doctrine, and that such as had already done so must change immediately.” Little notice being paid to this proclamation, Ieyasu began to act with greater severity, banishing and punishing some native Christians. The conviction that the spread of Christianity was harmful to the empire was a legacy from Hideyoshi, and received weight from the advice of the Dutch and English traders, who had no sympathy with the Jesuits. In 1615 Ieyasu issued an edict, “that the members of all religious orders of Christianity, whether European or Japanese, should be sent out of the country ; that the churches which had been erected in various localities should be pulled down ; and that the native adherents of the faith should be compelled

to renounce it." More than three hundred persons were shipped from Japan in accordance with this edict, and the only foreign missionaries who remained were some who concealed themselves for that purpose. The teachers removed, the converts were persecuted to force them to give up the faith. The means employed resembled those of the Inquisition. The torture was frequently used, as well as death-sentences fully as painful as burning at the stake.

The reports brought to the Japanese Government of the religious fanaticism prevalent in Portugal and Spain, together with the doings of Pizarro and Cortes, undoubtedly assisted in opening the eyes of the Japanese people to the dangers of the missionary system. It was undoubtedly the direct influence of these missionaries which sentenced these thousands of converts to death, just as it was owing to the apparent impossibility of allowing foreign intercourse without the smuggling in of priests that Japan adopted a course of complete seclusion. In one of the contemporary Japanese documents appears the sentence, "The Shogun has rigorously forbidden this navigation exclusively on account of the Christian religion." It is curiously typical of the illogical nature of Western morality that later this very exclusion of foreigners was used as a stick to beat the comparatively defenceless Japanese nation. The Christians added fuel to the ardour of their inquisitors by joining in rebellions against the State, thus emphasizing in the most pointed way the menace which Christianity was supposed to offer to the empire. The leader of the Christian rebels proposed to march to Nagasaki and open negotiations with foreign nations, and possibly obtain from them armed assistance. Anything more horrible to the Japanese people as a whole, or more conclusive of the danger of the Christians, could not be imagined. If anything had been wanting to seal their death-warrant, this proposal to deliberately call in the intervention of foreign

nations more than supplied the deficiency. The rebels held the castle of Hara against the Government troops, but this place fell after a siege of 102 days, and the whole of the insurgents were put to death. The crushing of the rebellion was followed by a determined stamping out of the Christian faith, which had shown itself so pernicious an enemy to the State.

In 1688 the following edict was issued: "So long as the sun shall continue to warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christians' God, or the great God of all, if he dare violate this command, shall pay for it with his head." Which throws a remarkable light upon the ineffectiveness with which the Christian religion had been taught to the Japanese people by the early missionaries.

Count Okuma, in a recent article in the *Monthly Review*, wrote of the action of the early Christian missionaries in a very decided way. He said: "Although the object of the pioneer of the mission, St. Francis Xavier, was to preach the Gospel, that of those who followed him was by no means to spread the doctrine of Christianity, but to absorb our country by a series of most treacherous intrigues. However well disposed we were towards them at first, however willing we were to listen to things consonant to nature and reason, we could not tolerate that foreign intriguers should appropriate even an inch of our territory, and hence the expulsion." How much the early missionaries might have accomplished is shown by Count Okuma's declaration, that "if the Portuguese ministers had confined their energy to religious enterprises only, Japan would easily have been transformed into a Christian country, with a sect of her own."

Just as it was in China, where the learned Fathers, after practically controlling the country for scores of years by their erudition and ability, could not leave well enough alone, but mixed in intrigues, sectarian fights, and politics,

the foreign missionaries in Japan followed a course which soon ended in the ruin of any and every chance of a successful religious progress. The Japanese have never shown any hesitation when their nation's welfare has been threatened, and it would have been illogical and unpatriotic had they allowed the exploits of Cortes and Pizarro to be emulated in Japan. Their tolerance and anxiety to remove the danger without bloodshed was a remarkable instance of true Christianity in an age, the pages of whose history are stained with the blood of thousands on thousands of religious victims of the Christian Church. The Japanese feelings towards the Christian doctrines remained unchanged, and in 1810 there is afforded an interesting insight into their attitude. This occurs in the diary of a Captain Golowinin, a Russian, who was captured by the Japanese. "We were very willing," writes the captain, "to communicate the moral tenets of the Christian religion, the Ten Commandments, and some notion of the Gospel. They told us that these principles were not peculiar to Christians, but that they were common to all individuals who had white hearts, and that the Japanese themselves had long been familiar with them." What they were really anxious to know was why the Russian priests opened and shut a door several times during the same service, and what was contained in the goblets they brought out of the cupboards.

A Japanese writer thus sums up the result of the effort to introduce Christianity into Japan: "After nearly a hundred years of Christianity and foreign intercourse, the only apparent results of this contact with another religion and civilization were the adoption of gunpowder and fire-arms as weapons, the use of tobacco and the habit of smoking, the making of sponge-cake, the naturalization into the language of a few foreign words, and the introduction of new and strange forms of disease."

The foreign nations, after the opening of the country

to them, can hardly be said to have demonstrated the practical workings of Christianity. The case of the murder of Mr. Richardson and the bombardment of Shimoneseki, for instance, were hardly likely to elevate the Christian countries concerned in the eyes of any one. In the first case, a British subject deliberately provoked an attack, excusing himself by saying, "I have lived fourteen years in China, and know how to manage these people." The doctor who attended the wounded in this case wrote of Mr. Richardson's action, "It was the common report at the time that Richardson brought the whole catastrophe on himself." Nevertheless, the British Government, anxious, no doubt, to show the true Christian spirit preached by its missionaries, punished the killing of this foolhardy man, who was responsible for his own death, by exacting from Japan the staggering indemnity of £100,000. Besides which, they burned three new steamers belonging to the daimyo, and destroyed with fire the flourishing town of Kagoshima, rendering homeless the population of nearly two hundred thousand men, women, and children. The facts of the Shimoneseki bombardment are too well known to demand detailed mention here.

The position of Christianity in Japan to-day shows the necessity for the Christian Church to become Japanese in its methods and in its control before it can make real progress. At present it has no vital, no genuine existence or development. The missionary field provides employment for a number of persons who in many cases might find it difficult to find such remunerative work elsewhere. Converts are secured on every pretext, to such an extent that one Japanese remarked, "If we nod during a sermon, we are supposed to be giving affirmation of our conversion."

M. Hitomi, the well-known Japanese writer, sums up the Japanese attitude towards Christianity and religion, when he says, "To-day the Japanese have abandoned

their feelings of enmity towards Christianity ; from hatred they have passed to indifference. But it is scarcely probable that they will progress much further in that direction. Besides, for the ruling classes religion is a secondary thing. That which is important is to preserve the national morality which teaches love of country, loyalty to the sovereign, filial piety, marriage relations, respect towards the old, friendship between children, the veneration of ancestors, etc. These are civil and family duties, not religious ones. Morality has its end in this world, and is not practised with a view to heavenly rewards." The Imperial Government has completely separated public education from all religions. The religions may not teach their dogmas in the schools. As a consequence, they have neither sufficient time nor opportunity to give the children a religious education. This is a great obstacle in the way of the propagation of Christianity in Japan.

"The chief obstacle, however, to their efforts," says another writer, "is the strongly developed national feeling of the Japanese ; besides which, there is undoubtedly a widespread dislike of the foreign missionaries, who are often considered merely as the political agents of the country which sends them out."

Christianity, to have its uses in Japanese eyes, will have to be a Japanese Christianity. We have English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish Christianities in our own small kingdom, each flavoured to suit the national palate ; and abroad, throughout the world, is seen the spectacle of every nation having a Christianity to suit itself. In the main the same everywhere, there are, nevertheless, minor changes which mark the distinctions between the different ideas. In Japan the Buddhism is not exactly that of India or China—it is Japanized ; with Confucianism it is the same ; and before Christianity arrives at its full vigour in Japan, it will have to be Japanized also. The Christianity

of Europe does not recommend itself to the Japanese, to whom it appears, as the eminent Japanese professor, Nitobe, puts it, as "a mongrel moral system—a concoction of a little of obsolete Judaism, of Egyptian asceticism, of Greek sublimity, of Roman arrogance, of Teutonic superstitions, and, in fact, of anything and everything that tends to make sublunary existence easy." Unpleasant though the reflection may be, success in Japan can only be hoped for by a resolute examination of Christianity in the mirror of Japanese criticism. To those whose desire is the spreading of the teachings of the Christ Jesus of Nazareth, the idea of a Japanized Christianity, in which all the fundamentals are preserved, should be welcome rather than distasteful. Yet it is more than probable, if the attitude of the foreign missionaries in Japan be taken as a gauge, that any such proposal would be regarded as blasphemous, and resisted with all the powers available. Every one who has slipped his or her penny into the missionary collection feels granted a brief to defend the missions, as now existing, against any change, however beneficial, to the real spread of Christianity.

"Christianity, to become a greater power in Japan, must be Christianity modified by native ideas and influences. It is the tendency of the Japanese less to originate than to imitate ; to adopt, but also to adapt and to simplify. They are not inclined to metaphysical and theological discussions, and they care little for Occidental and accidental denominations differentiated by hair-splitting distinctions embodied in verbose creeds. They are, therefore, desirous of uniting Japanese believers upon a simple statement of the fundamental and essential truths of Christianity. They need less of dogmas and rituals, and more of the spirit of Christ in their lives. . . . Theology is not wanted or needed in Japan, so much as a practical and spiritual Christianity."

The feeling that the Japanese are able and fitted to

control their own religious affairs, even where Christianity is concerned, is a growing force in Japan, which will have its effect in the near future. The Rev. Tamura, pastor of an Independent Presbyterian Church in Tokyo, expressed himself as follows on this burning subject :—

“The seeds of Christianity have been well sown in Japan during the last thirty years. If the Christianized Japanese are not able to look after the harvest, Japan must be regarded as a poor field in which to preach the gospel of Christ. If all the foreign preachers were to leave Japan to-morrow, do you suppose a single church would be closed? Would not Christianity continue to grow and prosper? It will go on, like education and all other things that civilize and upbuild Japan. We have dismissed nearly all persons of foreign birth from our Government offices, from our railway service, from our army and navy, from the Post-office and the public schools, and why should foreign religious teachers be retained? There is a feeling among our people that the presence of foreign missionaries is a reproach to their capacity and civilization, and they believe that the money expended by the missionary boards in supporting foreign teachers and preachers could be made a great deal more useful, and go a great deal further, if only native teachers and preachers were employed. The native preacher and teacher can live on 40 yen a month, while every foreign missionary receives at least 200 yen. For the yearly salary of a foreign missionary, I maintain a church, a Sunday school, a gospel newspaper, and educate twenty-seven young men for the ministry.”

This idea of a purely Japanese Church has been opposed vehemently by the foreign missionaries, who argue, amongst other reasons for their attitude, that “the Japanese are not prepared, from a theological point of view, to perpetuate among themselves what we understand to be orthodox Christianity.” Be saved in an orthodox way, with orthodox accompaniment, or stay in your unregenerate

condition, seems to be their attitude. But one is forcefully reminded that, in opposing the idea of a Christian Japanese Church, they are fighting for their daily bread. The Rev. Joseph M. Francis, of the Protestant Episcopal Church Seminary in Japan, thus summed up the desires of the Japanese Christians :—

“They desire to organize a national union Japanese Church upon a liberal basis, sufficiently broad to embrace every believer in Christianity. They want it to be different from all other Churches—unique and peculiar to their own country. They propose to have a creed embodying such truths as they consider agreeable to the tastes of their own people in religion.”

To a missionary belonging to one of the forty odd Christian sects now engaged in showing the way of light to the Japanese, it is perhaps only natural that the idea of “a Church sufficiently broad to embrace every believer in Christianity” should appear unorthodox and almost unthinkable.

To sum up, then: in religious matters generally the Western world may learn from Japan the dangers of a State Church, the elimination of politics from religion, tolerance, and a desire to seek out and help on the best in all creeds, and an insistence on practical and philosophical religion. For those responsible for the sending out of missionaries, there is the necessity of understanding that Japan does not wish to have her spiritual and moral affairs controlled by foreign teachers, over whose character and actions the Japanese have no control. The religion of Japan is true religion, reflected in the daily lives of the Japanese, and rejoicing in a complete freedom from such schisms and narrowness as are to be seen in our own Churches, and even amongst the most prominent revivalists, who announce their mission to save the souls of their hearers while denouncing the believers and teachers of other creeds than their own. In Japan, religion means the

seeking out of the good in all beliefs; in the West, it means too often the peering about for the weaknesses.

"The truth is," said Count Katsura, Premier of Japan, "that Japan stands for religious freedom. This is a principle embodied in her Constitution; and her practice is in accordance with that principle. In Japan a man may be a Buddhist, a Christian, or even a Jew, without suffering for it. This is so clear that no right-minded man acquainted with Japan would question it; but, as there may be those in America who are not familiar with the facts, it will be well to enumerate some of them.

"There are Christian Churches in every large city, and in almost every town in Japan; and they have all complete freedom to teach and worship in accordance with their own convictions. These Churches send out men to extend the influence of Christianity from one end of the country to the other freely. There are numerous Christian newspapers and magazines, which obtain their licences precisely as other newspapers and magazines, and as a matter of course. Christian schools, some of them conducted by foreigners and some by Japanese, are found everywhere; and recently an ordinance has been issued by the Department of Education, under which Christian schools of a certain grade are able to obtain all the privileges granted to Government schools of the same grade. There are few things which are better proof of the recognition of rights than the right to hold property. In many cases associations composed of foreign missionaries permanently residing in Japan have been incorporated by the Department of Home Affairs. These associations are allowed to 'own and manage land, buildings, and other property, for the extension of Christianity, the carrying on of Christian education, and the performance of works of charity and benevolence.' It should be added also that they are incorporated under the article in the Civil Code which provides for the incorporation of associations

founded for 'purposes beneficial to the public ;' and as 'their object is not to make a profit out of the conduct to their business,' no taxes are levied on their incomes. Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, Episcopal, Methodist, and other American missionaries all have such associations. The number of those professing Christianity in Japan I do not know ; but it must be a large number, with a much larger number who are Christian in their affiliations. The Japanese Christians are not confined to any one rank or class. They are to be found among the members of the National Diet, the judges in the courts, the professors in the universities, the editors of leading secular newspapers, and the officers of the army and navy. Christian literature has entrance into the military and naval hospitals ; and a relatively large number of the trained nurses employed in them are Christian women. During the war arrangements were made by which six American and British missionaries and six Japanese Christian ministers are to accompany the armies in Manchuria, in the capacity of spiritual advisers to the Christian soldiers. These are facts patent to all, and therefore I repeat what I have already said, that Japan stands for religious freedom. It is hardly necessary, I think, to point out that to abandon that principle, either now or in the future, would be to violate the Constitution, and would create deep dissatisfaction throughout all Japan."

CHAPTER VI

THE SIMPLE LIFE

"IN considering the origin and cause of the development of Japan," writes Count Okuma, "we must emphasize the fact that the geographical situation and the history of the country has helped it to an enormous extent. Our freedom from foreign yoke or oppression, during the two thousand five hundred years of our history, has permitted us to develop our national characteristics to the utmost of our capacity, while the climate and the natural beauty of the country have exercised favourable influences upon our people. The numerous kinds of beautiful flowers enabled the happy inhabitants of these islands to see blossoms at all times and in all seasons, thus contributing to create a sober and equable temper; innumerable volcanic mountains have invigorated our climate; while the rapidly flowing rivers and streams contributed in no small degree to the active and agile character of the race. It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence of climate on character."

In no country in the world, at the present stage of civilization, does a whole people live so close to nature and spend so much time in communing with it. The Japanese people love nature, and they have a love and sense of beauty about all things impregnated by this understanding of it. This appreciation has been, perhaps, the greatest of national characteristics, and given to the nation that fine touch of artistic culture and refinement which is lacking in more materialistic peoples. It would be idle to argue

that centuries of intelligent study and admiration of the beauties of nature could fail to affect the development of a people. In the opportunity which has been given to the race to mould itself, free from outside influences or infusion of foreign blood, Japan is unique. The fact that the Japanese eyelids have had time to develop a special thickness to meet the necessity of protecting the eyes of the babies who through centuries have been strapped, their heads hanging down, on the back of their mothers or nurses; that the stature of the race has been affected by the centuries of assumption of the sitting posture rather than the standing; that the fingers of the Japanese have reached a degree of suppleness unknown in the West by ages of more sensitive application;—all these show what great changes have been wrought in physical things in the Japanese. The more sensitive fabric of the mind, of the soul, could not fail to have been as deeply influenced by the constant contemplation of nature which has been going on for centuries. It is indispensable to realize this influence which is apparent everywhere upon the national force. This love of nature and all that nature gives so bountifully has developed the Japanese along lines of true simplicity and naturalness. Artificiality is not respected and revered as in other countries. Japanese art is simple, with the simplicity of perfection; the Japanese national characteristics may be said to be as simple and true. This love of the beautiful in nature is the secret which has made the Japanese the master-craftsmen of the world, as well as the most lovable, most simply direct people of any land. Those who commune with nature, and who are in touch with the beautiful, who really enjoy and do not make believe, cannot but be direct, simple, and gifted with a touch of that fundamental freshness which no civilization can ever efface.

“In no nation,” says one writer, “is there such a profound poetic sympathy with the Spirit of Nature as in Japan ;

and nowhere have an entire people, for so many centuries, shown such practical respect for and joy in their marvelously beautiful and infinite applications of energy and feeling to labour and skill. Nowhere has labour, for itself and for its joyous and beneficent uplifting of feeling and intelligence to the labourer, been so appreciated and applied. Nowhere has a people so loved and cherished and improved every picturesque and inspiring element in nature's self-manifestation of handiwork, in land or sea, gem or flower, bird, beast, or spontaneous life of man. Nowhere have natural material and technical possibilities of process been so intimately and artistically sought out with a reverence and joy essentially religious."

In the opinion of another writer: "The universe to the Japanese is not a mere machine, dead, unfeeling, unresponsive; but it is the vast storehouse of power and life. From its limitless stores come the lives of men and the being of things. Especially does it reveal itself in the wonders of nature and of man, and before them we stand silent, devout, worshipful. There is no fundamental distinction, not that of matter and spirit, nor of man and nature; but all are profoundly one, and all alike akin to ourselves. Some such conception, uttered or unexpressed, not held as a creed but felt as a fact, underlies this aspect of the religious nature of the people."

The relation between the Japanese and nature is of too deep and subtle a character to be grasped in detail, but the results are to be seen in every phase of national life. They supply the loving imagination which has helped the nation in many sore straits and which has pictured the future of the country in the heart of every inhabitant. Two outward signs are given to the world of the profound effect of nature upon the Japanese in their love for children, those humans nearest nature and divinity, and their love for flowers and growing things. Japan is a paradise for children, and all such are sure of kindly treatment from

all. Simple in their innocence, the children resemble to the Japanese mind rather products of nature, human blossoms, than material dwellers of earth. For flowers the Japanese have a passionate love, and Japan is a bower of flowers and foliage all the year long.

"The Japanese makes love to Nature," wrote a visitor to Japan, "and it almost seems as if Nature heard his silent prayer and smiled upon him in acceptance; for nowhere in this world, probably, is she lovelier than in Japan; a climate of long, happy means and short extremes, months of spring and months of autumn, with but a few weeks of winter in between; a land of flowers, where the lotus and the cherry, the plum and the wistaria, grow wantonly side by side; a land where the bamboo embosoms the maple, where the pine at last has found its palm tree, and the tropic and the temperate zones forget their separating identity in one long, self-obliterating kiss."

The Japanese do not seek to pluck handfuls of flowers to adorn their houses, or to carry about till faded they are cast away. They have no such vulgar ideas in the expression of their appreciation of flowers. To them a single bud, of no monetary value, may easily mean more than the choicest and most expensive bouquet of exotic blossoms. Their love of flowers is the true one, with no artificiality in it. The year is to them a succession of flower festivals. January has the pine; February the plum blossom; March the peach blossom; April the cherry blossom, national flower of Japan; May the wistaria; June the iris; July the morning-glory; August the lotus; September the "seven grasses"; October the chrysanthemum, the Imperial emblem; November the maple; and December the camellia. Besides these, there are numbers of flowers of all kinds, and every flower, every plant, and every tree has not only its natural attraction, but also a poetic and sentimental significance which lends it added charm.

To the flower festivals all the population goes; the roads are black with men, women, and children flocking to a famous iris garden or a road shaded with cherry trees in blossom. Hand in hand they wander amongst the flowers, being uplifted and made happy by the beauty and fragrance of their surroundings. There is nothing to be found similar to the "delights" of Rosherville Gardens in the old times, or the more modern efforts to return to nature as demonstrated in the Sunday-school treat or the beanfeast. What more delightful picture could there be than the following description of Kameido Temple during the season of the wisteria? "The long pendant flowers are seen in their marvellous perfection stretched out like a canopy, a quivering, living roof over the open-air tea-houses that edge a beautiful, clear little lake. The delicate green leaves, the riotous profusion of purple and white blossoms, cast long shadows on the water, cool patches of enticing shade to draw holiday makers, to pour peace into vexed spirits on the hottest days. They hang, the blossoms, like purple tassels two or three feet long, sometimes even four feet long, and these giants never fail to draw attention. It is not an unusual thing to read that the Prime Minister or some member of the Government has gone to Kameido to enjoy the wonderful Fuji, having made a two or three days' trip for the sake of the flowers. Entire families go to spend the day on the edge of the lake, sitting under the fragrant blossom roof fluttering with poems and lanterns, drinking thimble cups of tea, nibbling dainty sweetmeats, and tossing biscuits to the lazy gold-fish that swim below. Now and then the monstrous gold or blue carp, as old as their venerable temple, poke an orange or speckled nose above the surface inviting rice-cakes. They never fail to respond to the national habit of calling them by a sharp clapping of the hands, but go the rounds from one feeder to another greedily."

The temple grounds are very sanctuaries of flowers

and trees, and people take the little children there to see and learn to love nature and all its beauties. To the Japanese the beauty of the flowers and the trees aids as much, if not more, from very simplicity, in the understanding of true religion, than do the chants of our Churches or the songs of our Revivalists. The workman at his daily labour, and the soldier or sailor at his post, all love the flowers, and all are made happy by the possession of one. They are a sacred thing, a thing direct from nature, and carry joy and gladness into the house even when, torn from their roots, they have no other hope but to fade and die. When flowers are used in house decoration, they are arranged singly to represent an intellectual meaning as well as to allow of the true beauty of the blossom being seen. The science of flower decoration is one which requires a long course of study before the decorator is proficient.

How closely the Japanese study nature and how indispensable it is to them is shown in the Japanese gardens. These may be large or small, but they always essay perfection in rendering truth to nature. If the Japanese nation had done nothing else but teach the world the art of making a garden, they would not have lived in vain. These gardens, besides demonstrating the perfection of this art, are so much a part of Japanese life that it is well to deal with them a little in detail. Mr. Reginald Farrar, who has caught with real sympathy a glimpse into Japanese life, thus describes the famous Arsenal Garden in Tokyo: "This garden is one of the finest in Tokyo, and loses nothing from being side by side with the modern arsenal, where are prepared necessities of war to hurl men by thousands to death. The garden, which is an old one, is peace itself and a perfect gem. Its extent is not great, but seems enormous. There is a little lake, framed in woodland, with a wonderful high jutting headland of the most exquisite effect and proportions,

especially as seen from between the pine trunks of a certain rocky nook on the further side. Thence the path leads past a grotto, and up into the dense gloom of the forest, on past a little shrine, down into the close darkness of a bamboo jungle, from which it emerges into a pleasant valley of grass, where *hori-kiri* is imitated on a smaller scale by blossoming beds of iris. Behind rises a long perspective of high green hills diversified with forests. There is an orchard for cherry-blossom, and a trellis for the streamers of wisteria. Thus the path winds through a dozen landscapes, and back at last to the lake and a new aspect of the splendid promontory, with its trees, its bushes, its rocks arranged exactly as the heart desires, so that one rests before it abashed in one's blissful inability to find a fault anywhere, even in the misplacement of a single twig. There are certain views in this Mito Garden which surpass for beauty anything that mortal could imagine—little corners and flashes of loveliness that burn themselves into one's memory with the vivid performance of a photograph. It is unforgettable, almost incredible, a masterpiece of conception and execution. A fresh jewel meets the eye at every turn or glance. Indeed, the Mito Garden is a strip of Paradise."

An interesting comparison between the Japanese garden and the garden of the West is given by Baron Suyematsu. "Even on the smallest scale," he writes, "a garden is laid out in such a way as to represent a picturesque view as depicted in pictures. Hence artificial hills, natural rocks, and, where it is permissible, artificial lakes or cascades, are designed. We say it is based upon the principle of fine art; but in the case of European gardens, it seems to me that their original ideas were derived from the old 'commons,' and their later developments have been based more on the principle of industrial art; to wit, there are fountains, but in the shape of mechanical apparatus, and

not in the shape of natural springs ; there are hewn stones, iron rails, iron bridges, and if there is any water at all, it is mostly in the shape of a round or square tank. When they—the Occidentals—plant flowers, they make the beds invariably in the shape of a square or triangle, as geometrically as though designing a carpet. They seem to have no idea in finding regularity in irregularity, or, rather, harmony in differentiation. In towns in Japan there are numerous stone-shops, where natural stones are sold, but no such place exists in any part of Europe. Of course, there is one drawback to our gardens, *i.e.* they are more ornamental than useful ; this is a drawback which must be modified, and it is already being modified in many cases. But, on the other hand, European gardens seem to lack artistic elements to altogether too great an extent. It is almost incomprehensible to me that, in the case of Europeans, who are fond of hanging in their rooms landscape pictures, and who are so fond of travelling in mountainous countries, running after beautiful scenes and views and landscapes of different types, it should never have entered their minds to apply to their gardens the same ideas. In this respect I can venture, without any diffidence, to say that Japan is above any nation in the world, and foreigners would be much benefited if they would begin to appreciate our style of gardening. I am glad to say that there are several Westerners in different countries who have already begun to do so."

Some idea of the methods and ideas used by the Japanese in the making of gardens may be gathered from an interesting account written by Mr. Karasawa :—

"The styles of gardening are numerous, but they are principally reproductions of natural scenery. In selecting the situation for a garden, there are two things to be considered. The first is to select a piece of ground where nature lavishes her beauty with beautiful foliage, a woody mountain and clear-running stream to break the quiet,

and then omit those features which do not contribute to a pleasing effect, and improve it as the artist's fancy directs. Such kinds of gardens are found in villas and temples throughout Japan. The second is to produce on a plain level ground a scene from nature, artificially raising mounds, introducing water, etc.; and, again, in a garden where there is no mound, the stones, arranged artistically, form the principal frame of the garden. In the latter case the trees are lessened, and should be designed to present an aspect of a seashore or of beautiful island scenes. Then, again, a strip of narrow ground is improved by turning it into an avenue, taking for a model a picturesque path among some mountains or woods, or a walk beside a lake, river, or even the seashore.

"In laying out grounds, the features of general view may be divided into sublime, beautiful, and tranquil, according to the style of buildings to which the gardens are attached. The idea of a garden, in general, demands cleanliness. Pleasing verdure among the trees, fresh mosses around the fountain shall be set in such a way as to show ideal beauty. Calmness is required also, but care must be taken not to render it monotonous. Foliage should be kept green and dewy without being too dense. A grove that casts gloominess over the surrounding scene may have its place in a certain corner of a garden, but it is not appropriate in a conspicuous spot, the chief aim of a garden being to give delight and comfort.

"It needs, on the one hand, the exquisiteness of scenery, and on the other some fanciful structures which will please one's eye when strolling through the gardens. A romantic summer-house and a bridge would enhance the beauty. As a garden is an important adjunct to a house, so there must necessarily come the difference in making designs for them. Some are made suitable for viewing them from one particular room of the house, and in a garden which enjoys a large scale of space the mansion itself is included among

the ornaments of the ground, giving delight to those who saunter through it. Therefore an old authority on this art said, 'For a particular view from the drawing-room or library, plan a garden to suit the building; and for villas and pavilions, design a garden as though the building was placed there for that lovely bit of wild landscape.' Care is needed to avoid the crowded look in small gardens, and in larger ones a scanty and insufficient look. As the design of a garden, like the pictures and ornaments of a room, indicates the ideal of its owner, great caution should be exercised. In laying out of grounds, whether on a large or a small scale, it is of great importance that an idea or *raison d'être* should run through the whole; in short, harmony is the secret of making a garden attractive. The first step is to fix the prominent spot in a garden for placing the chief stone or tree. Next, the height and distance of the hill, the width and shape of winding streams or lakes, then the arranging of trees, stones, lanterns, fences, and hedges. The contour of the ground is to decide the position for hills and lake. This is truly the prototype of decorative gardening, and all styles of gardens, however much they vary, must conform to this. One more thing of importance must be mentioned—a garden which shall be viewed from an entire room, such as one that faces a drawing-room, needs to have its grounds stoped down, though not apparently, from the front of the verandah towards the back part of the garden. This will give a much better view of the scenery, and also prevents rain-water from running under the verandah.

"The order for decorating a garden is to begin with the front view and thence to the back, leaving the middle part for the last. The putting down of stones comes before planting trees, as the stones are the frame of the garden. However, these rules may be altered to suit circumstances as they may arrive. It must be kept in mind that mounds look higher when the lake is still without its clear water,

but after it has been filled they will appear to lose their height considerably.

"The scene of an artificial mound is like a picture, inasmuch as both are viewed by all who are in a room. Therefore the situations of mounds, ponds, stones, trees, etc., are not different from those of landscape paintings. Having followed this art rule, the antique style of gardens is all skilfully contrived, and one looking at them with admiration, wonders if they were not really produced by nature's own hand. It is necessary to choose a stone, large in size and imposing in appearance. It is not absolutely necessary to put in smaller stones, but this stone and that must be put in as a pair. With regard to the stones around the lake, it is necessary to keep an appropriate degree of height in accordance with the level of the corresponding pond. At the junction of stepping-stones a stone must be placed according to a certain rule. In ancient times base stones of the pillars in Buddhist temples were used, hence its name *garanseki*, or 'temple-stone.' But more commonly old mill-stones were used. The stones occupied prominent places, and sometimes the 'chief stone' may be placed in either of these spots. The ancient forms of decorative gardening mostly took their ideas from Buddhism, so terms for stones and other usages all signify ideas pertaining to it.

"For a chief tree pine or oak is preferred, and if possible select a finely shaped one, as this is the principal tree in the whole garden. The second important tree is planted on the island. It is better to have here a different tree from the chief one. If the chief tree is pine, then choose for this some leafy tree, or *vice versa*. Trees around the cascade should be of thick foliage, adding power to the rushing torrent, and if two or three branches could be arranged to hang over the centre of the cascade the effect produced is very pleasing. Evergreen trees are

suited for this purpose, but a few maples may be added with good taste. Then the number of trees may be greatly increased, in order to present a scene of a grove or a wood. Trees and plants should be planted close to the rocks and stones, so as to look natural.

“Between the chief mound and the ordinary one a valley is formed representing the idea of the source of the cascade. The mound is a hill. Another gives an idea either of a distance or thickly wooded mountain, and should look steep and rugged. At the foot of the left mound there is a shrine, dedicated to the patron god of the family, at the back of the right side of the mound. There is a well for watering the plants in the garden ; besides these, stone lanterns, bridges, fences, and a stone basin for washing the hands are all indispensable decorations in this kind of garden.

“Trees are the principal ornaments of a garden. They can beautify a piece of ground even without a single stone. However, they must not be planted too thickly, as it will only make the garden look confused, and thus take away the beautiful effect the trees would otherwise produce. Trees which grow on a mountain must not be planted beside a lake ; the original place of their growth should be closely observed in transplanting them. Excepting the plum and cherry, deciduous trees must not be planted in the front part of a garden. Trees that would cast their shadow over the water by spreading branches should be selected to place near a bridge and a lake. This will serve in hot summer time to give a cool, refreshing look to the scene, and will add much charm on moonlight nights. The position of trees in a garden should be carefully guarded, so as not to give them a look of posts standing in a row. The garden artist in planting must endeavour that each one of the trees should be plainly seen at the same time to its best advantage. Some masters, amongst them Rikiu, preferred to have the nearest trees tallest, and

decreasing in height as distance increased ; but Oride, for instance, held exactly the contrary opinion.

"Stones form the frame of a garden. Every one stone placed in a wrong spot will mar the whole grace and beauty. The ancients believed in having stones nine in number, four straight and five flat ones, as a charm to drive away the evil spirits. However, putting aside that Buddhist superstition, this form is to be complied with, for without these nine stones a garden will look formal. For stepping-stones, avoid those which have a rounded surface or are split.

"A stone basin of water, besides its use for washing the hands, serves well for an ornament in a garden. In front of a large guest room, an ornamented basin is placed for the sake of adding beauty to the scene. In the case of a very small garden, sometimes a basin alone is put as a sole ornament. There are various ways of arranging the stones.

"The stone lanterns were formerly placed in the precincts of both Shinto and Buddhist temples, and also on the wayside. It was in earlier ages that they were introduced in gardening as one of the decorations. As with everything in a garden, the position is very difficult to choose. It may be put near the lake to let its light reflect on the water, or with equally good effect be placed among the trees to give an idea of a glimpse of light in the depth of a forest. A wooden lantern may be used in the place of a stone one."

The garden is in perfect harmony with nature and in perfect proportion, whether it is arranged in an area of a square yard or covers several acres. At large dinners miniature growing replicas of famous scenery in Japan are placed on the table, each a gem in itself. In this way, those who are not able to visit the beauty spots of Japan, may enjoy them without feeling out of harmony with nature in viewing the reproduction. Writing of Japanese landscape art in painting, an authority says—

“Ordinary scenery of familiar mountains, of calm streams of water, and of dwellings just before our eyes, may be sketched with an irregularity so charming and with such excellent skill as almost to rival nature. In pictures such as these, the perspective of gentle mountain slopes and sequestered nooks surrounded by leafy trees are drawn with such admirable fidelity to nature that they carry the spectator in imagination to something beyond them. These are pictures in which is mostly evinced the spirit and effectiveness of the superior hand of a master, and in these an inferior artist would only show dulness and inefficiency.”

The love of nature engenders a respect and a love for trees. The Japanese do not kill trees unnecessarily, and when a farmer is forced to do so, he almost invariably plants another tree in some suitable place. Japan has no need of an Arbour Day Society, all her people are already members of a community where trees are appreciated. The Japanese have perfected a very wonderful system of preparing the roots of growing trees, even after they have attained a great age, so that the tree can be transplanted. This system obviates the destruction of many trees which would otherwise by force of circumstances be doomed ; it also enables the Japanese house-builder to prepare a garden complete at the beginning, not having to wait while young trees struggle to attain their full growth.

In Japan, indeed, the house is often built after the garden ; it is a component part of it, and must await the time to be included in the landscape which is being depicted. In the house, also, love of nature and simplicity are everywhere to be seen. The wood used is polished by hand, thus retaining all its natural beauty of grain, and no paint or varnish is allowed to ruin its quiet charm. The Japanese have attained a system of house construction which develops the proportion which gives the most

perfect symmetry and harmony with nature. From palace to the poor man's little house the same proportions are used, and the result is that Japanese houses do not give an impression of size or smallness, they fit into the landscape.

The Japanese people are the happiest people in the world, and they derive their happiness from their innate simplicity of nature, which they have obtained from their long association with, and loving study of, the beauty of the universe, of the sky, and of the world. Gradually the eyes of the people, accustomed to look at and to enjoy beautiful things, instinctively seek out the beautiful, and the best points in the new things which come into their lives, and thus attain tranquillity, if not happiness. This national spirit of cheerfulness and optimism is a very vital factor in the Japanese patriotism. It enables them to be happy even in poverty and in hardship, and, sustained by their love of country and their love of nature, to endure sacrifices cheerfully for the sake of Japan.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION: THE FOUNDATION OF THE NATION

IN nothing is the aspiring activity of the national spirit of the Japanese shown to such advantage as in the intense desire for education which permeates the whole nation, without distinction of class. It has been recognized that no nation can be truly and permanently great without a serious educational foundation, and as ignorance is but as shifting sand whereon to build a house, it is a national duty to be educated. Therefore the Japanese have acquired an educational system second to none in the world. Largely modelled upon the American, notable improvements have been introduced, and not a year passes but some change in the direction of up-to-date methods is inaugurated. Early in 1904 the Minister of Education, addressing the officials of the department, impressed on his hearers the important part education plays in moulding a nation's destiny. He advocated the foundation of a new kind of Imperial University, where the training of practical intelligence as required by the conditions of the nation to-day should be taught, and denounced the pernicious usage of attaching excessive importance to mere intellectual culture, to the detriment of the moral and physical strength of young Japan. The Japanese educational system strives first to develop the character of the children and to ensure their development into good

citizens, it being thought far better to make members of the State sound in body and clear in intelligence than to produce mere intellectuality. The Japanese are the first to admit that they have not yet attained perfection in the application of this practical education, but step by step they are tending towards it. Moral training, physical exercise, reading, writing, and such courses are to be found in every school. In agricultural districts the practical science of agriculture will soon be universally, and is already largely, taught to both girls and boys. In industrial districts, handicrafts and knowledge likely to be useful to the pupil in his business of earning a livelihood are inculcated. It was this desire of making future generations into efficient and thinking citizens that led the Emperor to declare in 1871: "How important is the education of mothers on whom future generations almost wholly rely for the early cultivation of those intellectual tastes which an enlightened system of training is designed to develop." "By educating our women," writes a Japanese educational authority, "we hope to ensure greater intelligence in future generations." Japan cannot afford to see the first six years of her children's lives uninfluenced in the direction of progress and good citizenship.

A truer perspective of the Japanese educational system can be obtained when one remembers that while education had from the very earliest time always formed an object of solicitation on the part of the rulers and people, the modern system of compulsory education was inaugurated only a year or two after the adoption of such a system in England. Since its introduction, fully ninety per cent. of the children of school age attend schools, and sixty per cent. of the graduates continue their studies for the full eight years of the elementary schools, only four years' attendance of which is compulsory. That this should be the case in a country where children begin to work for their living almost as soon as they can walk is very

remarkable. It is specially enacted by law that those who employ children shall not object to their attending school even after the compulsory period is past, should they so desire.

The growth and nature of the Japanese educational system may be understood by the following brief *résumé* from the pen of one of Japan's foremost educational officials:—"Education in Japan originated in the first foundation of the country. The spirit of loyalty, filial piety, and bravery, which constitutes the fundamental character of the nation, has been fostered and cultivated from time immemorial. But education, prior to the Restoration in 1867, had been restricted to a narrow scope, a certain class only enjoying its benefits. The subjects of study were also limited to Chinese and Japanese literature, much stress being laid upon morals. Soon after the Restoration, the new Government directed serious attention to the subject of education, and consequently the whole system was discarded and a new one, entirely different, and such as prevails in the civilized West, was introduced throughout the empire. Though the educational idea of the nation has gradually developed during the period of more than two thousand years, yet the present system of education is really the outcome of the great changes effected in the very short period of less than forty years since the Restoration, to which there is scarcely a parallel in the history of Europe or America.

"In the year 1871 was established an independent Ministry, called the Department of Education, whose head, the Minister of State for Education, became a member of the Cabinet. Two years later an educational code, comprising the whole system of universities, secondary schools, primary schools, etc., was issued. Since then, various improvements in the system have been carried out, until we have the organization existing to-day. Especially during the last five or six years, the advance made in every direction

is remarkable. The central administrative organ is the Department of Education, with a Minister of State at its head, and a Vice-Minister under him. In addition, there are three directors, corresponding to the three bureaus of special school affairs, general school affairs, and technical school affairs ; councillors, secretaries, school inspectors, and examiners of school books and charts, to transact the various duties respectively assigned to them. The local administrative body for education comprises three classes : the administrator of the body of the lowest class is the head of a city, town, or village, who has charge of primary education ; the administrator of the second class is the head of the *gun*, or county, who supervises the educational affairs of towns or villages ; the head of the highest is a local governor, who controls both the primary and secondary education, with the jurisdiction under the supervision of the Minister of State for the Education Department. Primary schools are designed to give children the rudiments of moral education, and of education specially adapted to render them good members of the community, together with such general knowledge and skill as are necessary for daily life. Due attention is being paid to their physical development."

In 1900 an improved arrangement was introduced in the primary schools, by which the course was made much simpler and more practically effectual, especially in imparting such knowledge as is indispensable in daily life.

Primary schools are divided into ordinary primary schools and higher primary schools. An ordinary primary course and a higher primary course may be established jointly in one and the same school. The ordinary primary course extends over four years, and the higher primary course over two, three, or four years. A supplementary course, extending over not more than two years, may also be arranged in order to give such instruction as is suitable to local requirements. The subjects of study

in ordinary primary schools include morals, the Japanese language, arithmetic, and gymnastics. According to local circumstances, one or more subjects, such as drawing, singing, or manual work, may be added, and for girls, sewing.

The subjects of study in higher primary schools include morals, the Japanese language, arithmetic, Japanese history, geography, sciences, drawing, singing, and gymnastics, and for girls, sewing. In addition, agriculture, commerce, and manual work may be included for boys, as well as the English language.

A point worthy of special attention is that the moral lessons taught in primary schools are not founded upon any religious doctrine, but are purely secular. In future, the text-books for use in primary schools shall, as a general rule, be those for which copyright is reserved by the Department of Education.

Children must have completed their sixth year on entering a primary school, and be fully fourteen before leaving, thus allowing the full school term to be eight years. The guardians of children of school age are under the obligation of sending them to school to complete, at least, the ordinary primary school course. In 1902 there were 20,284 primary schools throughout the country, with 6726 branches. A municipal or rural community is under obligation to establish one or more primary schools sufficient to accommodate children of school age in the district under its control.

The middle schools continue the work of education for boys who have finished the two years or more higher primary course. As to middle school instruction, the subjects of study must be so conducted as "to develop the character, and to increase the knowledge of male persons belonging to the middle and higher classes." Legislation and political economy were made obligatory in middle schools. In each of the forty-seven prefectures, at least

one middle school must be established and maintained. In 1902 there were 292 such secondary schools, with 102,304 pupils and 4233 teachers, involving an expenditure of £500,000. The development of middle schools has been enormous, for in 1891 there were only sixty-three in existence. This sudden growth is due to many causes. In the Japanese education system, those who aspire to higher education, not only in universities, but also in commercial, technical, and military ranks, must be graduates of middle schools, or else they must possess equivalent attainments, to obtain admission to the higher institutions of learning. Again, the scholars of middle schools, as well as those of higher institutions, are exempt from military service until they have reached the age of twenty-eight. Graduates of the middle schools have the privilege of performing their military service as volunteers for one year, instead of as conscripts for three years. From the middle schools the students pass into the higher schools, which are really clearing houses for the universities and other institutions of higher education.

There are eight higher schools, all being maintained by the State. This school, it may be said, is exclusively peculiar to the education system of Japan, for which there is no equivalent either in Europe or America. Under the present circumstances, the use of the Japanese language is not yet sufficient for the purpose of university education, without the accompaniment of foreign languages. Some courses have to be conducted in French and some in German, text-books in Japanese not existing, a fact explaining the *raison d'être* of the higher school. So much emphasis is laid on the foreign languages in the curriculum that in some classes as much as thirteen hours a week is devoted to them. The students have to choose English and German, or English and French, or German and French. The chief aim is to train the students to fully understand foreign literature rather than to render

them fluent conversationalists. The course of study extends over three years, and is divided into three departments. The first is intended to give the necessary instruction to those aspiring to enter the institutions of law or literature in the Imperial universities ; the second department is for candidates of the Colleges of Engineering, Science, and Agriculture ; and the third department for candidates for the College of Medicine. The curricula in secondary schools are uniform throughout Japan, but in the higher schools there are three different departments, or courses, and the higher schools form the connecting link between secondary schools and universities. The higher schools may therefore be considered the continuation of, or, rather, the supplementary instruction to, the secondary schools ; and secondary education in Japan may be said to be common to all students for the first five years, while it is divided into three courses for the last three years. Candidates for admission must be over seventeen years of age, and must have completed the secondary school course or have the same degree of proficiency.

There exist two Imperial universities, one at Tokyo, and one at Kyoto, where students are able to develop individual lines of study and specialize. The rush of students to enter the middle schools from among the primary school graduates is larger than the accommodation, and the authorities have been content to allow this to be so, in the hopes that the graduates might have their minds turned towards the higher technical, commercial, or agricultural institutions, instead of towards the University. However that may be, there is an increase of applicants each year, and although those who have completed a two-year higher course in the primary schools are eligible, it is mostly students who have completed the full eight-year course who succeed in entering the middle schools. After leaving the primary schools the education of girls is differentiated from boys, and they enter high schools. There

now exists a woman's university, and gradually the higher education of women is being extended.

According to the latest available statistics (1902-1903) the number of various schools and their instructors and students stands as follows:—

	Number of schools.	Number of instructors.	Number of students.	Number of graduates.
Elementary schools	27,154	109,114	5,135,487	935,429
Blind and dumb schools . .	19	101	1,063	96
Normal schools	57	1,031	19,194	9,058
Higher normal schools . .	3	129	1,094	247
Institutions for training } middle school teachers . }	5	57	169	—
Middle schools	258	4,681	95,027	11,179
Girls' higher schools . . .	80	1,175	21,563	4,809
Higher schools	8	301	4,781	875
Imperial universities . . .	2	349	4,046	729
Special schools	56	1,350	19,964	2,685
Fine art schools	1	42	324	60
Music schools	1	45	423	23
Technical schools	854	2,789	60,051	8,317
Institutions for training } technical school teachers }	3	46	150	52
Miscellaneous	1,657	5,546	106,169	22,118
Total	36,158	126,712	5,469,442	995,676

Decentralization in defraying expenses is the keynote of the system, but the Department of Public Instruction holds a close supervision and direction over the whole system. Before 1895 the expenditure of the department was about £100,000; whereas in 1905 it was estimated at about £1,000,000. The educational expenditures of the local authorities also show a great increase. The annual expenditure on public schools of both central and local authorities approximates to four million sterling, and the value of school property is over six million and a half sterling. No primary school can accept fees unless under special circumstances, and with the approval of the governor, then the fee must not exceed 20 sen (5*d.*) a

month in municipal schools, or ten in town or village schools. In higher primary schools, 60 sen and 30 sen (15*d.* and 7½*d.*) respectively are the highest fees chargeable, and there are many exemptions.

There are several notable points in the Japanese educational system which are specially worthy of study. They all demonstrate the effect of the national instinct, since they have for object the improvement of the nation rather than merely the individual. The individual is educated, is taken care of as a member of the nation, and his progress is regarded as advancing the cause of the whole people. From the very lowest grades of schools up, there is a thoroughness in the pursuit of this ideal, which is remarkable. In the Kindergarten schools, of which there are between two and three hundred, it was found, as early as 1876, better for the teachers to be practically trained nurses, and a nursing course for the training of qualified nurses was opened in 1878 in the Kindergarten affiliated to the Tokyo Women's Normal School. In 1902 there were nearly seven hundred of these qualified nurses employed in the Kindergarten. For the primary schools, especially during the earlier years, women teachers are preferred, and every care is being taken to produce an adequate supply, adequately trained and competent.

Uniformity of curriculum throughout the whole system is found in fundamentals, the essentials being taught in different districts as the special circumstances demand. The whole educational system forms a continuous progressive school, from the Kindergarten right up to the University, or the higher technical or other institutes. This continuity is one of the most important features of the Japanese educational system. The future physique of the nation is insisted upon, and the necessity of taking every precaution to improve the healthy condition of the younger generations is considered. Gymnastics and

physical exercises, developed along military lines, form a very important part of school courses in all grades of schools. Every care is paid to the sanitary and hygienic condition of the schools, and the health, apart from physical development, of the scholars. In addition to the regular health bureau in the Education Department, there is a special board of advice for school hygiene. The sanitation of schools is rigidly enforced, and much attention is paid to ventilation, lighting of schoolrooms, and drinking water. Considerable improvement has also been made in the construction of desks and benches. A special system of school doctors exists, and is being extended. A few years ago there were nearly four thousand physicians in charge of seven thousand schools. These not merely inspect the schools, but seek opportunities of inviting the pupils and parents to discuss sanitary matters connected with their homes. In fact, it may be declared that nothing is neglected calculated to improve the national physique and provide Japan with able-bodied citizens in every branch of national life.

The school system of Japan contains no religious education, as the term is generally understood. In fact, it is the most valuable example of the possibility of teaching moral conduct and right living without dogma. The Japanese recognize the value of religious, not necessarily Christian, teachings, but say that it should be taught elsewhere than in the schools. They take the ground that, religion to be of value must be the result of conviction. It is impossible, they contend, that children of the tender age of six can reason out the mysteries and difficulties of religious dogmas. Confusion in the mind of the child is bound to result, and the development of the intelligence suffers by introduction of abstract and incomprehensible subtleties. That a child in the primary schools can understand, for instance, the idea of the atonement for sin, clearly enough to do him good and not merely to mystify

him, is incomprehensible to the Japanese mind. In as far as religious education is made the vehicle of moral instruction, and for the development of character, the Japanese quite recognize its value, but they do not complicate these moral teachings, which may be made intelligible to the child, by abstract and sectarian dogmas and creeds.

Professor Jinzo Naruse, the President of the Women's University, gives very clearly this attitude towards religious teachings in schools in the following passage, which it is difficult to better for directness, completeness, and lucidity. He says :—

“I strongly oppose the policy of education held by religious people, who try to teach a particular religion to the students of their schools, and who, in some cases, seem to be using education as a sort of bait for converting youths to their religion. Such policy will do harm rather than good, both to the cause of education and that of religion as well. Education and religion ought never to be confused. I cannot, however, approve of the policy of anti-religious education, resorted to by non-religious men, who try to insinuate into the minds of young students the principles of atheism, and make them think that religion is nothing but superstition and illusion. Education has no right to attack religious systems, and in so doing it deviates from its proper sphere. It is not right to antagonize any religion in a school any more than to teach propaganda. We ought to avoid falling into both of these errors. Educators must have a spirit of tolerance to all religions, and allow students perfect freedom in adhering to any religion they choose ; at the same time we ought to inculcate high moral principles of life, aiming at the spiritual edification of our students without interfering with their individual faiths. Such teaching will tend to strengthen the conviction of students in the essential and everlasting truths, and let alone the non-essential and valueless elements of their respective religions. So far

and no farther can education go in religious instruction."

Moral teaching forms a part of the school curriculum, and for each class some hours each week are devoted solely to this purpose. "The essential point of moral teaching should be to nourish and develop the virtuous instincts of the children, and to lead them to the actual practice of morality," states an ordinance relating to education. Baron Suyematsu thus describes the method of carrying out this idea as laid down in the ordinance: At first, matters which are easy and simple to emulate, relating to filial piety, brotherly kindness, friendship, frugality, truthfulness, self-restraint, bravery, and such-like virtues, should be taught, gradually advancing to the subject of such simple topics as those of one's duties as regards the State and society, and thus elevating the sentiments and strengthening the ideas of the young, and fostering in their minds an enterprising and courageous spirit, as well as a due respect for public virtues, coupled with the loftiest admiration of patriotism and loyalty. In teaching all these, illustrations should be given of the wise sayings and commendable doings of exemplary persons, and full use made of maxims and proverbs. In the case of girls, care should be taken that they be thoroughly instructed in the womanly virtues. The difference of teaching between the common and higher schools is only in respect of the treatment of the subject, one being more advanced than the other.

To infuse moral sentiments into the minds of the young is also to be kept in view in teaching other subjects, *i.e.* history, geography, science, and even in drawing and singing. Thus, for example, even in the teaching of science, not only may an elementary knowledge of natural objects and phenomena be conveyed, but the training of the mind is expected "to nurture and develop a love of nature."

Bushido plays a great part in the moral instruction, and in general the moral duties of individual towards individual and towards the State are inculcated. By this method the Japanese claim that the younger generations become imbued with true citizenship, with loyalty, patriotism, and the morality of everyday life. The enormous effect of this system of training upon the moulding of the people into a uniform and unanimous nation cannot be over-estimated. The basis of the moral education of the nation is elucidated by an Imperial speech on Education,* which gives the duties of citizenship in a nutshell. All the moral teachings are drawn from this speech, and the text-books consist principally of explanations and amplifications of the various points.

The moral instruction of the Japanese schools is not only taught theoretically ; the directors and other instructors are supposed to stand to the pupils in the position of a constant ethical example, capable of giving admonitions as occasion requires. "For advanced pupils, instruction in general principles should be given scientifically." This makes the training of teachers a very vital question, and the Government has done everything to ensure these practical exponents of ethics being fitted for their task. There are three kinds of teachers employed : regular licensed teachers, who are qualified to teach all the subjects in the regular course ; special teachers for special subjects ; and assistant teachers. The system of licences, which is obligatory upon teachers, enables the Board of Committee, in testing the qualifications of teachers for licences, to secure a high standard of educational and moral excellence. Licences are of two kinds : the prefectural licence granted by the local authorities to those who have graduated in the prefecture and good only for that particular part of Japan ; the other granted to teachers of distinguished service, who have been teaching

* The text of this speech is given on p. 40.

for more than ten years, and also in certain other cases. The examination into the qualifications of applicants is very severe, and a large percentage fail to obtain the licence. The position of teacher is held in very high esteem, he being honoured only less than the children's parents. There are many ways in which instructors can earn additional salaries over and above the schedule rates. The central government makes special allowances, besides their local salaries, to nearly 21,000 teachers. "Under no circumstance," it is stated, "is the salary of a teacher reduced without his consent." Pensions and special grants to the family of a teacher who dies at his work are awarded according to a well worked-out system, and include provision for the family of the dead as well as for the retired teacher.

Foreign languages are regarded as an essential part of education. In the higher schools the foreign language instruction occupies the most prominent position in the curriculum, the greatest number of hours being devoted to its study. The foreign languages taken in the middle school course may be one of three—English, French, or German. The time allotted to English is seven hours a week during the first four years, and six hours a week during the fifth year. In none of the schools is French taught, and in only one or two German; in the vast majority the foreign language taught is English. Even the study of Chinese, which is to the Japanese what Latin and Greek are to the Western student, has to give place to modern languages.

One very special point in Japanese education is the value which is placed on foreign travel as a means of instruction. As early as 1871 the Emperor wrote in an Imperial rescript: "During youth-time it is positively necessary to view foreign countries, so as to become enlightened as to the ideas of the world; and boys as well as girls, who will themselves soon become men and

women, should be allowed to go abroad, and my country will benefit by the knowledge thus acquired." Every year sees numbers of students sent out to all parts of the world to complete their education, in learning practically the necessities of life. It may be said that the world is the finishing school of Japan. Besides the graduates and instructors of schools under the Education Department, others deemed fit by the Minister of Education and found well qualified may be sent abroad by the Government to study. Even local societies and individuals often assist in thus forwarding the education of promising boys.

The students are generally very poor, and yet, in spite of it, some of them with slender means of subsistence manage to obtain a University education. This may seem to be utterly inexplicable to the uninitiated ; it is, however, quite easy of explanation. In the first place, if a young man distinguishes himself in the middle school, the members of his family are generally ready to make any sacrifice or to undergo any hardships to secure his education. A case has been known where a sister, to aid in defraying the cost of her younger brother's education, has entered the profession of Geisha—a profession which, while not an honourable one, is not necessarily a degrading one. This may be, perhaps, an extreme case, but many cases occur in which the parents of university students lead hand-to-mouth lives for their sons' advancement. Then, there are a great many Students' Aid Societies, whose function is to lend sufficient means to those students in higher schools or universities whose families are not sufficiently affluent to be able to furnish their sons with the means necessary for their education. Such societies are generally local, a number of men from the same locality (men, probably, who have been poor students themselves) meeting together and constituting a society to aid poor scholars from their own district. The scholars so assisted afterwards return the money thus lent them,

with or without interest. There are hundreds of societies of this description, and the good which they have done and are doing for the cause of higher education is incalculable. Then again, in the families of higher officials and of professional men, one generally finds one or two young men who are found to be in attendance at some Government or private school. These young men are lodged and boarded in the families—indeed, sometimes all expenses paid besides—and sent to school; they, in return, when not at school, doing odd services for the families. A great many of the higher officials and professional men themselves have passed through this life of *shosei*, as the life of such a student is called, and the system has been of so great a service that it is to be hoped it may long continue.

The Japanese have discarded to a large degree the fetish of examination as a test of the students' knowledge. The examinations which exist are rather for thinning out the ranks of applicants for admission—a less arbitrary manner than by selection—than as an infallible indication of the intellectual ability of the pupil. Even this modified form of examination tests is not approved of, as two extracts from the report of the Minister of Education for 1900–1901 show. These run: "It was also determined that the attainments of children should not be determined by examination," and, "as regards higher female education, occasional examinations should be abolished and the attainments of pupils found from their usual exercises."

The general trend of women's education may be gathered from an address by Professor Jinzo Naruse, head of the Women's College, to his students, and it applies also to the general principles of male education, save, of course, the purely feminine points:—

"They should always be guided in their conduct by the Imperial commandments embodied in the Imperial Rescript on Education, and should at the same time

observe strict obedience to the rules and regulations of the University, understanding well the aims and purposes with which the institution strives to conduct its work of educating women. They should be respectful towards their friends, while endeavouring to be self-ministering and self-governing. They should ever be warned of falling into idle and extravagant habits of life. Respecting others, they should be self-respecting also. Courteous and obliging in their social intercourse, they should not be proud in their bearing; and polite and truthful, they should endeavour not to betray themselves into acts of frivolity and caprice. Firm in their resolutions and noble in their aspirations, they should endeavour to make themselves mistress of all that make women lovable and adorable.

“In their endeavours to acquire knowledge and learn arts they should cultivate the habit, as far as possible, of trying to study and master things by their own effort and think and judge for themselves, thereby freeing themselves of the fault, so common among girl students, of blindly submitting to their instructor’s words and passively yielding to an author’s views. Rather than try to be widely informed and variedly accomplished, they should make effort at acquiring and fostering the faculty of perceiving and penetrating into the real aspects and true relationships of things and affairs, and of grasping the fundamental principles and acme of art and knowledge, so that after their graduation from the University, they may permanently be possessed of the power of freely and profitably putting into practice what they have acquired in the class-rooms.

“A weak and sickly woman cannot but be an object of misfortune, not only to herself, but to the home of which she is the mistress. But the evil does not end there, because there is a fear of her leaving trouble behind her in her posterity, and thereby becoming a source of mischief

to society. It should thus be seen that it is a matter of vital importance for the students to always be mindful of promoting their bodily health by liberally taking physical exercises, and otherwise observing the rules of hygiene and sanitation concerning their diet, clothing, study, sleep, etc."

General technical, commercial, and agricultural institutes of higher education abound, the colleges of the two latter branches being unrivalled in excellence throughout the world. Technical education for women is also being introduced.

One very valuable object-lesson in education is afforded by the Japanese prison system. This is designed not merely to punish but to educate. Work is compulsory, and thus those who have never worked acquire the habit; while those who have a trade can continue its pursuit, and do not therefore come out of prison unfitted for it through lack of practice. The prisons are cheerful, hygienic, and the discipline is never brutal. The warders are educated and trained specially, and enter fully into the idea of the educative value of the prison system. Corporal punishment is as unknown here as in the public schools, and the disciplinary punishments are confined to solitary confinement in light or dark cells. In the dark cells, however, there is no unnecessary cruelty, and a bell is provided by which the inmate in case of need can attract the attention of a warder.

All prisons are provided with adequate accommodation for the free admittance of light and air. Every possible precaution is taken against infection by contagious diseases, and cleanliness is warmly encouraged. Inmates suspected of having infectious diseases are carefully isolated, and intercourse prohibited between them and healthy individuals. All accused persons, condemned criminals without obligatory labour, and offenders are required to walk or take other exercise in grounds laid out for that purpose

for more than half an hour daily. Bathing in general is of course permitted, every fifth day in summer and every tenth day in winter ; though a distinction is made between prisoners where the nature of their respective labour or other circumstances demands. For foreign criminals there are provided special individual bath-tubs best suited to the custom of their country. There is a marked difference shown between the food given native and foreign prisoners, the former being supplied with a mixture of rice and wheat boiled together in the proportion of four-tenths and six-tenths. Not more than three *go** are given to one person at a meal, though the amount is regulated according to the labour or other circumstances of the prisoner, but all necessary food is provided from good nutritious materials, according to its cost, at the rate of three sen or less for each person. Much better food is supplied to foreign prisoners, and according to their tastes.

In most cases the object of imposing obligatory labour upon prisoners, except in some cases of condemnation without labour, is to give them careful training in useful work, and to encourage diligence, so that on their discharge from the prison at the end of their term of imprisonment they will find less difficulty in obtaining employment. The Government has therefore provided various kinds of useful work not injurious to health. The labour is apportioned in two ways : (1) for the Government, and (2) for private individuals or bodies of individuals. In the former case the capital invested is supplied from the fund set aside for prison expenditure, and materials, tools, implements, etc., are purchased from this fund. But in the latter case the trades are controlled as a private business by individuals, companies, or partnerships, who either obtain the necessary supply of labour from the prison direct, or engage the employed prisoners

* One *go* is equal to about a third of a pound ; nine *go* equals, therefore, three pounds.

at reasonable wages on application. Capital and materials are, of course, supplied by employers in each instance.

The Government work consists of the manufacture of articles required by the prisons themselves and other Government departments, also of mining and engineering connected with these offices. The principal branches of industry are as follows : Loom-working, carpentry, joinery, needlework, smithcraft, straw-work, brickmaking, coal-mining, paper-making, and construction and repair of buildings. Brickworking, among the other industries, fully meets all the demands of the Government departments.

Where the supply of labour is obtained from the prisons by private employers, the work is usually of the following nature : the manufacture of silk stuffs, soles of Japanese socks, cotton-flannel, mats, Japanese socks, bricks, matches, Japanese cloisonné, *uchiwa* (a Japanese fan, round and not to be folded), quarrying, and work in cotton mills.

In accordance with the prison regulations now in force, medals are granted by prison governors as rewards to any criminals in their custody who have shown their amendment by carefully observing prison rules, properly conducting themselves, and labouring diligently since their incarceration. The medal can only be awarded three times to an individual, this restriction having the twofold effect of, first, forming a sort of standard usually followed by governors in proposing pardons or unconditional liberation ; and, second, is of assistance in determining various forms of lenient treatment, according to the number of medals earned. Such lenient treatment is accorded in the following ways :—

1. *Dress and various Articles*.—All medalists are supplied with superior kinds of garments and other articles.
2. *Communications*.—Each medalist is allowed to send out two letters per month.
3. *Bath*.—Medalists enjoy the privilege of bathing

prior to other prisoners, hot water being used in accordance with the general custom of the Japanese people.

4. *Food*.—The supply of accessories is increased in quantity every week for medalists, according to the number of medals granted, to the extent of an increased expense of two sen or less for one meal per person. This increase is granted once a week to the possessor of one medal, twice a week to the possessor of two medals, and three times a week for each possessor of three medals.

5. *Earnings for Labour*.—The allotment of earnings is made in the following proportion, the remainder being applied to prison expenses :—

Three-tenths to each felon to whom one medal has been granted.

Four-tenths to each misdemeanant to whom one medal has been granted.

Four-tenths to each felon having been granted two medals.

Five-tenths to each felon possessing three medals.

Six-tenths to each misdemeanant granted three medals.

The ordinary convict is able to earn 8 sen daily by his labour, or more if he has three medals. The revenue of the prisons is considerable, and lightens the drain upon public supply.

A visitor thus describes the scene in the prison workroom :—

“An exhilarating sight are the workshops, in which hundreds of convicts are industriously engaged in weaving, cloisonné, printing, rope, basket, and straw-braid manufacture, tailoring, shoemaking, carpentering, cleaning waste cotton, oakum picking, etc. There are fully eighty looms at work, and the cloisonné industry has assumed very respectable proportions, large quantities of the ware being exported. The printing-office is chiefly occupied in turning out copies of the prison regulations, which are supplied to every convict. As we entered these hives of compulsory

labour the word was given, work suspended for the space of a few seconds, an obeisance made, and then "as you were." Conversation is not allowed, unless the work in which the prisoner is engaged necessitates the same, and then permission must be obtained beforehand, and the words uttered must be perfectly audible. The hours of work vary according to the season, as follows:—

January and December—Seven hours.

November—Seven hours and a half.

February—Eight hours.

October—Eight hours and a half.

March and September—Nine hours.

April—Nine hours and a half.

May and August—Ten hours.

June and July—Ten hours and a half."

With regard to letters, visits, and books from outside, the regulations are very liberal. Of course all letters are read by the warders, and newspapers are not permitted, but otherwise everything is done to encourage mental development. Religious convictions are respected, and Christians may have their own ministers to attend to their spiritual needs. "We do not refuse the use of Bibles or other Christian books," said a prison official, "and missionaries are free to address and exhort their own sectarians on the days set apart for that purpose." A visitor writes on this subject, "In the monthly reports made concerning the morale of each convict, special attention was given to his religious views, and that he was, as far as possible, led to an appreciation of virtue *along the lines of his own religion*. Certainly a liberal and most conscientious management."

The same writer deals with the prison instruction of younger convicts, who receive the common school education if below the age of sixteen.

"The prison has, on its staff, a well-qualified teacher, who instructs the younger convicts—those below the age

of sixteen—in reading, writing, arithmetic, and singing ; while those above sixteen and up to twenty years of age are further instructed in the history and geography of Japan. This, however, is done only in the case of *shohan* offenders, *i.e.* those who are undergoing imprisonment for their first offence. When a convict entered on the books states that he has a knowledge of English, he is at once examined as to the extent of his knowledge, the examination being done by an official well versed in that language. The convict is thereupon, if a ‘first offender,’ allowed to continue his studies in English ; is, indeed, urged to do so, the necessary books being supplied him. In case of there being several with a knowledge of English, they are permitted to prosecute their studies under a properly qualified teacher, engaged from outside.”

When the prisoner’s term is completed, special arrangements are made for enabling him to re-enter the outside world under favourable conditions. The net result of the Japanese prison system is that imprisonment exercises a reformatory influence, and is an educational force in the development of the convicted. It must not be forgotten that in Japan, when a man or woman has completed his sentence, he is held to have expiated his crime, and to be unhandicapped in any way by his years of prison. It is even considered probable that the released convict will be better than when he entered prison, because the aim of the whole idea of Japanese education is to turn out competent and healthy citizens, mindful of their duties to themselves, their neighbours, to the nation, and to the Emperor.

To sum up the principal points in the Japanese educational system, one finds they are the duties of citizenship, moral teachings leading to right living, physical training, competent teachers who are practical examples to the pupils ; the value of foreign languages, the absolute necessity of a practical instruction enabling

the pupil to earn his living in a better way, and the development of commercial and agricultural instruction. Such great strides have been made in Japanese education, that the boast made by a Japanese statesman when he said, "Although our improvement has been rapid in material civilization, the mental improvement of our people has been far greater," is no idle one.

Education is yeast, and the education of Japan is the foundation of the Japan of to-day and of the future.

CHAPTER VIII

BUILDING UP INDUSTRIES IN AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY

THE Restoration found Japan practically an agricultural country, purely and simply. There were few, if any, industries of importance. The agriculturists produced sufficient food to supply the nation, and Japan was in every sense self-supporting. Even the taxes were paid in rice, and farmers were ranked far higher than merchants. History showed the Japanese, however, that it is very difficult to maintain a high standard of national greatness when the revenue of the land and the prosperity of the people depends absolutely upon the fall of rain or the hours of sunshine. For a small state such a condition, although not enviable, is possible. For a state such as the Japanese were determined to make Japan, such a foundation was altogether too unstable. Besides this, the rapid increase of the population, together with the increased luxury of living, showed the Japanese in an unmistakable fashion that some adjustment was imperative. The soil of Japan is cultivated intensively, and although it was possible to augment to a certain extent the production, such a course would only result in a postponement of the ultimate settlement of the problem. So they, in their intense love for their country and pride in its future, took the bull by the horns and proceeded to build up an industrial fabric to supplement the agricultural

one. To supplement, not to supplant; for as much care was devoted to the improvement of agricultural systems as ever, the agricultural yield being increased considerably. In England is to be seen the object-lesson which taught Japan both what to copy and what to avoid. In England the development of industries came almost insensibly, on no organized plan, and with the industrial growth came agricultural decay. England became an industrial power of hitherto unheard-of importance, but she ceased to be in any degree self-supporting—the produce of the world has to feed her millions. The Japanese realized that the decay of agriculture was by no means the inevitable corollary of industrial growth; in fact, properly organized, the industries should assist agriculture, and *vice versa*. Above all things, it was impossible to make Japan dependent upon foreign nations for daily bread—for luxuries, perhaps; for the means of life, never. Such an idea would be against the very fundamentals of the national sentiment. But it was recognized that industries might be developed side by side with agricultural pursuits. The population of Japan was in 1872 only 33,110,793 persons, or 225 per square mile. In 1905 the population had grown to 47,812,702 persons (exclusive of 3,059,235 in Formosa), or 325 per square mile. The increase has been steady and averages half a million per annum. This is no warning to be neglected, and events have proved that the adoption of the industrial system was the ideal way out of the difficulty. Japan's increase of one in ninety, compared to the average increase in European countries of one in one hundred, made it most imperative that industries should be created.

Besides the necessity, there was an additional reason to be found in the knowledge that industrial growth would add enormously to the power of the nation, not only in the Far East, but among European countries. It was recognized that industrial and commercial development was a much surer guarantee of greatness than military

power, and that the conquest of markets was more efficacious than the destruction of armies and navies. In this proficiency Japan desired to be the England of the East. It was not the warlike exploits of the English which were set up as a model, but their industrial development. The Japanese saw that the wars in which England had engaged, and the conquests which her navy and army had achieved, served no really practical object in furthering the national cause. What made England and the British Empire was her trade and industries, and it was this that Japan determined to emulate when she essayed the *rôle* of England in the Far East. To the Japanese the victories of peace are greater than those of war, and since the whole of the national policy is based on peace rather than conflict, it is only natural that every effort should have been made to achieve an industrial condition which would allow Japan, by peaceful means, to attain the highest possible success—a difficult thing, for the Restoration did not only find Japan an agricultural country, but also under a feudal system. Such a system, wherever it exists, elevates the military classes and abases the merchant and trader. The commencement of the new era in Japan found the merchants and industrial classes as low as could be imagined, lacking business morality and driven by force of circumstances to the adoption of many ideas and methods most prejudicial to the progress of industrial development. The Japanese were therefore forced to reverse the whole standard of class ideas and, led by several patriotic pioneers of the military classes, to enter into affairs which were then considered disgraceful. Now, in Japan, the old inequality existing amongst the professions has disappeared. There is only the one gauge applied, the extent of benefit which any individual, in whatever profession he may find himself, can bestow upon his country and his nation. Baron Shibusawa, who was the leader of the industrial movement, and

who has formed one of the centres of the development, was a member of the highest class, and filled an official position in the early days of the new era.

"At the time of the restoration," he says, "the industry and commerce of Japan was very low in public opinion and in the social scale, the military and political classes only being considered honourable. I began the new era with the same idea, and for five or six years pursued a political career, rising to the position of Vice-Minister of Finance. Then I realized that the real force of progress lay in actual business, not in politics, and that the business elements were really most influential for the advancement of the country. So I gave up my political position and devoted my life to business. I soon came to the conclusion that the capital of an individual was not large enough to accomplish very much, and I then became the means of introducing the company system into Japan. The idea was successful, and the Government approved of it. Since then every industry in the country has increased—some twenty times, some ten times, and none less than five times."

Following the lead given them, the people of Japan plunged into the national duty of developing the industries so successfully that to-day Japan stands as the greatest industrial nation of Asia. The Japanese have taken the same pride in this as they used to take in their military achievements, and as they do in everything which advances the national progress. There is far less feeling against trade and the mercantile calling in Japan now than there is in England, where it must be admitted that a prejudice still exists, limited only by the magnitude of the business pursued. Baron Shibusawa, on his return from a journey round the world in 1903, wrote as follows of the opinion of the world upon Japan's progress. It is a grim comment on the criterion of efficiency still held by the civilization of the West. Japan gained her first world recognition by the

Chinese war, her second step was the Boxer expedition, and the final revelation of Japan's right to occupy a position in the front rank of nations came with the war with Russia. And yet the military and naval efficiency of Japan is but a very small item in the national development, and, in the eyes of the Japanese, represent far less her real claim to success than do the industrial, commercial, and educational progress. The Baron writes, therefore, with an undercurrent of bitterness when he says, "The President of the United States praised Japan because of her military prowess and fine arts. Are not Germany, France, and England praising Japan up to the skies upon the same ground? If the warm reception I received abroad is based on the feeling that I came from a country known for its military exploits, I must confess that that reception is a death-blow to our hopes. Because too much militarism, I am afraid, will sap the very life of a nation."

How much the development of the industries is regarded as a national duty may be gathered from a proposal made by Baron Shibusawa, to enable the use of foreign capital to be obtained by the Japanese people in the launching out of new industrial directions.

"I am," he said, "anxious to introduce the idea of a system of trusteeship, in order to encourage foreign nations to invest their money in Japanese enterprise. There are very many incompleted works in Japan which need outside money to finish them, and which would return good profits. I feel assured that it would be possible for prominent Japanese bankers and capitalists to make themselves personally responsible for the money of the foreign investor. By such a system the security of the investment would be much increased, and the foreign investor would have the assurance that his money was safe, even if the business in which it had been invested ceased to exist. The entire loss caused by the failure of Japanese business enterprises would thus be borne by the Japanese."

The Japanese have the courage of their convictions, and they show no hesitation in believing that the industrial development of Japan must succeed. In this, as in all else, the united will of the entire people is a great element in ensuring success. The war with China afforded a final proof to the Japanese people that the world lay at their feet, and that they should make haste to fit themselves fully to take advantage of the opportunity. The indemnity brought much money into the country, and made it possible for the Government to assist in many material ways the growth of industries.

Before all things it must be borne in mind that Japan is not a warlike nation. Although the feudal times are only some forty years back, she has no desire to fight for fighting's sake. Japan's future depends upon her commerce and her industries, and she is well aware of this fact. War never kept a country great—there are grave doubts whether it ever made one great. The first sign to Japan that progress was not to be sought by warlike means was her inability to maintain the closed door in her own country against foreign nations. Gradually, from despising merchants, she came to honour them above all others. While immensely proud of her army and navy, and determined to keep them up to the necessary high-water mark demanded by Western civilization, she regards them more as means to an end than as the end itself. Were Japan a business firm, the army and navy would take the place of excellent commercial travellers to open up new markets for trade. It is much more to Japan to have her credit high and her word respected than for her to win victories on the field of battle. Japan seeks the substance, not the shadow of empire. A clear light is thrown on this desire of Japan for industrial development by the following Imperial Rescript concerning volunteer troops during the Chino-Japanese war. It runs thus: "We know that it is on account of loyalty and patriotism that Our subjects in

various localities are undertaking to organize volunteer corps. But deeming, as We do, that there are fixed institutions in the country, as well as fixed avocations for the people, it is Our desire that, except in case of requiring extraordinary recourse to their services, Our subjects should continue industriously to pursue their accustomed vocations, so as to promote the industrial development of the realm and to cultivate the national resources. At present We do not deem that there is any need of volunteer troops, and We enjoin local governors to instruct the people concerning Our wishes."

No effort has been spared to fit the Japanese people for the enlargement of their industries and to enable them to dispense with outside assistance as rapidly as possible. "From the beginning," says Marquis Ito, "we realized fully how necessary it was that the Japanese people should not only adopt Western methods, but should also speedily become competent to do without the aid of foreign instruction and supervision. In the early days we brought many foreigners to Japan to help to introduce modern methods, but we always did it in such a way as to enable the Japanese students to take their rightful place in the nation after they had been educated."

Not only were foreign instructors engaged, but the most promising of the Japanese younger generations were despatched throughout the world to study in the factories of America and of Europe, and to gather together all that might be of value to their country. On their return these Japanese were given high places in the industrial world, and lifted the manufactories out of the commonplace into centres where the experience of the West and the thought of the East could meet together.

How important were these educative measures may be gathered from the fact that Marquis Ito, speaking of a special engineering college which he founded in Japan, said, "I consider the establishment of this college was one

of the most important factors in the development of Japan of to-day. From this institution have come the majority of engineers who are now working the resources and industries of Japan."

Even before the Restoration the Government had begun to teach the Japanese people methods of industrial development. They found apt pupils, since Japan is a country where work is done for love of the work, and where every man, woman, and child is an artist by instinct. Then, too, in insuring the permanency of industries, Japan possesses a great advantage in the fact that even a war cannot bring about a cessation of work, since women are employed equally with men—indeed, in many industries more than men—and there is thus small dislocation by the withdrawal of the male element. All these things, added to the enthusiasm of the people, enabled the Government to make a very rapid development of industrial undertakings.

Where formerly there had been hand-looms, great spinning factories sprang into being, and the Japanese operatives were soon able to excel in execution the mill hands of England. Whereas here it is calculated that three generations are necessary before sufficient fineness of touch becomes developed to spin the finer cotton goods, in Japan one generation is sufficient. In 1848 some of the daimyos had already turned their attention to encouraging industrial enterprises. The daimyos of Satsuma, Mito, and Saga were notably zealous in their efforts. The first-named established porcelain and glass manufactories on the Dutch model, and constructed a spinning mill furnished with spinning machines imported from England. Ship-building yards were founded, many of which exist in modern form to-day. The restored Imperial Government lost no time in creating examples of industrial development. It established in 1872 a model filature in order to introduce labour-saving methods in the manufacture of

raw silk, and operatives trained there were spread all through the principal silk districts. A silk spinning mill was founded by the Government in 1877. A woollen factory was established in Senju, a suburb of Tokyo—the only Government factory of the former models now remaining in public hands. With regard to cotton-spinning, not only was a model mill established, but the supply on easy terms of spinning plant to interested people was initiated. Ten sets of two thousand spindles each were used in this way. Hemp-spinning was also encouraged by the grant of State aid; nor was this all. To quote from a report of the Department of Commerce and Agriculture—

“It was the Government which first started the work of manufacturing cement, having established in 1875 a cement factory at Fukugawa, where the burning of white brick was undertaken as a subsidiary work. Then the establishment of a glass factory in 1876 at Shinagawa; the creation of a paper-mill section in the Printing Bureau and the manufacture of foreign-style paper, besides the improvement of the native-style paper; launching of the work of machine-making, of soap-making, type-founding, of making porcelain in the Western style, of paint-making, also the establishment of filatures and the making of arrangements for training female operatives in all such forms of industry—all these have imparted a powerful impulse to the progress of our manufactures throughout the country. Meanwhile, factories modelled after those established by the Government began to be started by the people, and the Government, no longer perceiving the necessity of maintaining its model factories, began about 1880 to sell all of them, with the exception of the Senju woollen factory.”

The Government retained the ownership of mines until it was possible to ensure their profitable working by individuals or companies. Grants were made to railway

companies, and in every way assistance was given in what was felt to be an urgent national matter. Indirect assistance was given by means of national exhibitions and participation in international exhibitions. Even during the life-and-death struggle with Russia, Japan exhibited at St. Louis, although her enormous rival did not. As a matter of fact, the Japanese exhibit was nearer completion at the opening than the majority of national exhibits. Besides this, the Government takes other measures. "In the matter of legislative measures for protecting and furthering industrial interest, the regulations relating to patents, designs, and trade marks, the establishment of silk-conditioning houses, the enactment of industrial interests to guilds, etc., may be mentioned. Further, the sending out of experts to all the provinces to encourage by lectures and by practical experiments industrial enterprises; the organizing of the industrial laboratory and of the Sake brewing laboratory; the sending of student manufacturers and merchants to foreign countries to investigate the condition of manufactures and trade in those countries economically related to Japan; the hiring out of the latest dyeing and weaving machines, specially imported for the purpose, to the principal dyeing and weaving districts; all these measures have contributed to further the manufacturing industry to the present state of marvellous progress within a comparatively short space of time." Encouragement is not confined to the central Government. The local authorities have also done much to aid industries. These measures generally took the form of establishing experimental laboratories or training schools, opening local competitive fairs, the hiring out of costly machines, or the advancing of money to enable the manufacturers to purchase them.

Industries having been seen to be vital to the true course of national development, the entire nation bent its energies not only upon the work of creating, but of perfecting

them. Experiments were made with a view of improving and adapting to local requirements the machinery and appliances which their experts in each special line had chosen as the best products of the world. In this way the Japanese engineers and mechanics have proved conclusively that they are able to improve, and not only to adopt, other people's ideas. The impression that the Japanese cannot originate has arisen largely from the fact that they were so ready to adopt the fruits of other nations of mature experience rather than waste years evolving the same proficiency for themselves. But they do originate, and they improve whatever they adopt. And thus in many respects the national desire for efficiency has placed the industrial establishments of Japan upon a very high plane of excellence, and it has undoubtedly accomplished the national object of making Japan a leading industrial nation. It must not be forgotten that Japan had to create her industrial system without much of that assistance from protective tariffs which enabled the United States at first to permit the infant industries to thrive in an artificial atmosphere. Japan's industries are no incubated weaklings! The foreign treaties prevented, and still prevent, Japan from imposing high duties upon imports at will, and thus she has lost this advantage, so valuable in a young and developing industrial nation. Infant industries gain much by the artificial heat of a tariff incubator, but care must be taken against continuing the artificial mothering too far.

The Government is able to do much directly to encourage the manufacture at home of the supplies necessary for its own use. To quote Baron Kaneko Kentaro: "It may be admitted that militarism is unproductive, and that, therefore, it adds nothing to the economy of the country. In Europe and America the unproductiveness of the military is, nevertheless, turned into productiveness by the well-applied economic policy of

spending the money which might go abroad, as in the case of Japan, in their own countries. It is indisputable that supporting an army and navy requires an enormous amount of money, and that this amount has to go somewhere. In Japan there is annually spent several millions for military defence, and what I would propose is to turn this amount into the encouragement of industries as a step towards an economic policy. The Government should try to check importation from abroad by restricting its supply to that of our own country. This might be objected to on the ground that one yen's worth of the imported article is equal to 1.20 yen in the home article—that is to say, that the foreign-made article is cheaper than ours by 0.20 yen, or, in other words, our people's taxes are accordingly affected. Hence checking foreign importation is false economy. This may be true for the present; but suppose if, in the course of a few years, we were able to produce articles precisely the same, in every point of excellence, as the foreign, then the argument would lose force, for the imported articles will have to be insured during their long voyage, and pay for storage and other incidental fees, thus giving a much higher price than could possibly be attached to our own manufacture. The following example will illustrate my view. A Japanese manufacturer in Osaka produced a white flannel equal in quality to the English flannel bought by the Government for naval uniforms. The price was, however, higher, but the Government arranged to purchase the flannel from him, provided the price was made lower and the quality improved. In the course of a few years this was realized, and to-day the Osaka flannel is produced in such excellent and low-priced goods that the English make cannot surpass it. This end could not have been accomplished without the aid of the Government—an obvious result of the economic policy. We often hear that the safety of the country cannot be insured so long as we are not able to manufacture our

own military equipment—rifles, cannons, gunpowder, etc.—and yet we take no measures to meet this situation, but rely upon the imported material for the clothing of our soldiers. When we hear similar utterance in Europe and America it means less than it does to us. It means that such things as military instruments, clothing, shoes, and other things are, of course, made by themselves. We can never be independent from a military point of view so long as we are relying upon foreign countries for our army's clothing, or even for rations. And for this reason I advocate the independent supply of military goods as well as of military instruments."

How far the development of the industrial system has enabled this ideal to be realized may be judged from the inquiry made by a prominent Japanese paper, the *Asahi*, into the effect of the Russian war upon the economic situation. Of course the Government factories were fully employed, and supplied the rifles, the ammunition, the guns, the uniforms, and everything connected with the army and navy. With regard to private concerns, the newspaper found that everything had been thriving with the exception of businesses and industries ministering to the luxurious and wasteful habits of the people, especially the concert halls, theatres, tea-houses, etc., showing clear proof of the desertion of public patronage. A few further cases of exception are the life, the fire, and the marine insurance, and latterly the printing business and the coal-mining industry. On the other hand, paper mills, beer breweries, ship-building yards, electric light companies, gas companies, tent factories, woollen cloth mills, shoe and boot factories, warehouse companies, are among those which did splendid business during the first half-year of the war. The demand for war supplies may directly account for the large profits secured by the woollen cloth mills and shoe and boot and hemp factories, but such cannot be said of the other industries enumerated, and

their prosperity is attributable only to the healthy economic condition of the country in general. What particularly pleased the journal was the fact that the savings of the people, both in Government and private banks, steadily increased, while the cotton mills, which in the early months showed signs of weakness, later revived their activity owing to the decline in the price of raw cotton.

One example of a Government industry, vitally affecting national progress, may be found in the Imperial Iron Foundry. This establishment, created at a great expense, has shown very clearly the foresight of the Japanese. At various times it has formed the basis of very bitter party attacks in the Diet, because, until the national expediency of an innovation has been universally recognized, the Japanese members of Parliament believe in healthy criticism. Once, in fact, the sum appropriated for these works in the Budget were refused; but even when the opposition was highest, it was not against the idea—it was directed rather against the methods employed by the Government. The works have now proved their efficiency, as may be judged from a speech made recently by the director, General Nakamura, who said, "At the commencement of the war, the foundry was still in a preparatory stage, and not in a position to work satisfactorily. Fortunately, both the army and navy had been fully prepared for any emergency in time of peace, and there was no necessity of hastily working on account of the war. But the war was a great one, and no one knew when it would come to an end. As no imports from abroad could be relied upon until they had been actually received, a conference was held with the military and naval authorities, and the general plan then decided upon was that first the foundry should manufacture war materials with its existing machinery as far as possible, and secondly, that the foundry should complete its machinery and plant with a view to manufacturing with Japanese products all the materials

necessary for the war. In accordance with this plan, the foundry executed up to the end of 1904, 866 orders for the army and navy. In addition, it manufactured since January, 1904, 25,000 tons of rails for the Söul-Fusan and other railways, and over 6000 tons of light rails. The iron ore chiefly came from Chinese mines and the mines in Japan. The steel manufactured at the foundry was chiefly supplied to the naval and military authorities, and was used for shipbuilding purposes and the manufacture of shells. It is highly satisfactory to state that, in spite of the fact that the foundry had only been established a few years, steel capable of passing the official examination and test could now be manufactured. This was doubtless due to the skill of the workmen, who had become expert in this branch of the foundry's business. Until recent years ten foreigners had been employed, but in March, 1904, nine of them were released, leaving only one. At present the foundry is not able to manufacture the armour plates required by the navy, the metal for the barrel of rifles and railway carriage wheels, owing to the absence of the necessary plants. But as the results of negotiations with the military and naval authorities, it was arranged that from next year the foundry, in co-operation with the Kure steel foundry, should manufacture all the steel necessary for the construction of warships and firearms, and such goods as axles and bolts for railway purposes. The foundry also intended to manufacture telegraph wires."

The establishment of this foundry has already had very considerable results in the way of developing the coal and iron mining industry, and in this way the sums spent on the scheme have already had some concrete return. This instance of the iron foundry shows how ready the leaders of public opinion are to educate the people to a true appreciation of the needs of the nation, even to the extent of making themselves unpopular by so doing. It is also an instance of the excellence of the general tendency in

Japanese progress to be ahead of time in meeting national needs rather than run any chance of leaving them unsupplied. One of the results of this policy of encouraging industries has been to add enormously to Japan's financial strength in this war, since, of the enormous sums spent in *material de guerre*, at least 75 per cent. remains in the country, and, enriching the people, provides them with money available for re-investment in the public bonds. Without the industrial backbone so thoroughly developed Japan's resources would have been far less efficiently organized.

There is no sign of any slackening of the national energy in this direction, although, as may be seen by the following figures, abundant success has been attained. In 1881 the revenue of Japan was only 71,489,880 yen, and continued at about this figure until 1897, when it rose to 187,019,423 yen; in 1905-6 it was 305,667,190 yen. In 1894 there were 2967 public companies with paid-up capital of 249,762,999 yen; while in 1903 there were 9218 companies with 887,606,190 yen capital paid up and 1,253,113,146 yen authorized. Of these 1943 companies possessed more than 100,000 yen capital. In 1890 there were thirty cotton-spinning factories with 277,895 spindles; in 1903, there were 76 with 1,290,347 spindles in daily use. In 1903, 13,160 men and 57,166 women were employed in these 76 mills. In 1903 there were in all 8274 factories of all sorts in existence, employing 483,839 operatives, 182,404 men and 301,435 women. The exports from Japan were 56,603,506 yen in 1890; in 1904 they had reached the value of 319,260,896 yen. In 1901 the exports had almost equalled the imports, and there is every evidence that in the future the balance of trade will be in favour of Japan. This would never have been possible with a purely agriculture country, and it is no exaggeration to say that the patriotic impulse which has made Japan from a feudal into an industrial country, has

enabled her to play the *rôle* of a first-class power instead of a third-class one.

Various acts have been put into operation during a period of some fifteen years, aimed at the formulation of measures or methods which might effectively prevent adulteration or debasement of national products, either raw or manufactured. After some good and some useless experimental efforts, the guild system has lately been pronounced the most effective, these organizations coming under such heads as Credit Guilds, Purchase Guilds, Sales and Protection Guilds, etc., with powers as corporate bodies to adopt measures aimed at furthering the business and economy of members. Rules have also been issued for the establishment of local and communal experimental laboratories, or manufacturing training schools, the objects being the encouragement and improvement of manufacture.

In 1900 the technical schools of all grades throughout the country numbered no less than 1008, all devoted to the furthering of efficiency in manufacturing enterprise, and to adding to the technical knowledge of the people. The progress along these lines has been directed largely towards making the country independent of the assistance of foreign experts, and the success achieved is proved by the comparatively small number of European and American instructors now remaining in important or minor posts.

State aid to the extent of about £15,000 per annum is granted towards the work of providing technical teachers of Japanese birth, the principal subjects treated being dyeing and weaving, metal and woodwork, painting, designing, carving, ceramics, casting, pottery, shipbuilding, paper-making, printing, embroidery, sewing, commerce, brewing, sericulture, lacquer-work, etc.

As lately as 1903 the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution, which gave in a succinct form the methods which have been and are being employed to develop industries, and at the same time showed that

those interested in the industrial system are keenly alive to the necessity for sustained effort. The general meeting decided that a representation should be made that the Government should encourage the manufacture of those goods which are now imported, but which can be produced in Japan, and make attempts to impede the importation of such goods. That the Government should encourage the manufacture of those goods that can be exported with profit, and thus increase the export trade of Japan. That the Government should carry out minute investigations, following the line of policy mentioned above, and select the industries worthy of protection.

The proposed representation enumerated the following methods for the operation of the Protective policy :—

1. Certain industries shall be exempted from the business taxes and other rates, and shall receive, if necessary, some State aid.

2. The Government purchases shall be made as much as possible from the Japanese manufacturers.

3. The subsidized companies shall be caused to make their purchases as much as possible from the Japanese manufacturers.

4. The Government railways and subsidized railways and shipping companies shall be caused to carry certain manufactured articles at a reduced rate of freight, and the banks receiving special protection from the State shall be caused to institute special methods of transaction on behalf of certain industries.

5. The import duties on certain sorts of raw materials shall be refunded in case of their being re-exported in a manufactured condition.

6. In case the import duties on certain goods cannot be increased on account of the conventional tariff, consumption taxes shall be imposed on the one hand and bounties granted on the other, in order to compensate for the limitations on the customs rights.

7. Model factories shall be established in order to increase the skill of workmen and the development of new industries.

8. Where the circumstances in connection with the above proposals necessitated, laws shall be enacted or amended.

There seems to be every likelihood that soon Japan will see the realization of Baron Kaneko's wish, when he said—

“I urgently hope that the Japanese will spend their energy in pursuance of industrial and economical policy for the sake of our country. For it is the only way that we of to-day can serve our country. The making of laws has already been done by our predecessors ; the perfection of the military defences has been worked out by our military men ; the only thing left to us is to improve Japan economically.”

Figures may be manipulated to give better showings than they should, but if any further proof of Japan's industrial development were needed, it is to be found in the fears of her danger as a competitor which are beginning to be shown by other industrial nations. These critics would wish the industrial value of Japan to be less than it is, and are likely to cry out only when their preserves are being encroached upon. Thus we may conclude that the Japanese people have succeeded in establishing a sound industrial basis to their country, and have provided, within a remarkably few years, a solution for the problem of rapidly increasing population. This success, achieved by the united and unceasing efforts, patriotically inspired, of all the people, governors and governed alike, marks the first attainment which the Japanese people determined necessary to enable them to occupy an unparalleled position in the economic system of the Far East. The creation of a mercantile marine and the developing of trade were the other two steps which were supplementary

to the industrial growth, and which were encouraged equally and at the same time. One without the others would have been of but little real value to the nation ; altogether they represent a maximum of national benefit never before approached by any, even in centuries of endeavour.

CHAPTER IX

THE CREATION OF A MERCANTILE MARINE

To the Japanese it seemed the most natural and logical corollary to the growth of their industrial development to provide the merchant vessels to carry the goods produced by it. Warned by the example of the United States, they avoided the mistake made by the Americans, of developing their industries and export trade without having any mercantile marine available. By this defect, an enormous amount of American money left, and still goes out of the country, in the shape of freight charges to foreign-owned vessels. The United States is endeavouring to undo this mistake, but it is vastly harder to change a settled custom, than to guide growing forces into especially prepared channels. Nothing shows the Japanese thoroughness to better advantage than the way in which they prepared their merchant service preparatory to the acquisition of goods to load the vessels with. Visitors to Japan at the end of the nineteenth century must have seen vast numbers of Japanese vessels lying in the harbours waiting for employment. Then they seemed to be a waste and a miscalculation, but time has shown that it was only foresight. Slowly, year by year, the proportion of the Japanese foreign trade carried by Japanese bottoms grows larger and larger, and a corresponding proportion of money stays in the country. The Restoration found the country

practically entirely an agricultural land, and the policy of isolation preceding it had reduced the idea of a merchant service to a tradition of the past. Now, not only did the exports and imports aggregate as much as 690,621,635 yen (1904), but the Japanese-owned vessels have attained the enormous amount of 1,096,908 tons, being divided between the steamships and sailing-ships. Of the former, there were 1,766 ships of 767,674 tons; and of the latter, 3,944 ships of 329,234 tons. In the pursuance of the efficient development of this side of national life the Japanese have acquired a merchant marine which ranks ninth in the world, proof of the value both of the idea actuating them and of their methods of accomplishing it.

So remarkable a development, and so unprecedented a creation of a fleet, merits some attention being paid to the means whereby the marvel was accomplished. The motive force was the same as is found underlying everything throughout the national existence of Japan—the true patriotism of the Japanese people. No effort could be spared, no toil could be too hard, when it was a question of erecting yet another barrier of superiority, before the encroachment of the foreigner. The means employed were singularly efficient, and sufficient for the required end. It is seldom that the Japanese expend too much energy or too much of any requisite in the achievement of their objects. They possess the power of thinking out the detail of their schemes, of seeing where they are going to land, and choosing the most economical route.

And the thoroughness of the conception did not stop at the mere creation of a fleet, it developed the means of building the vessels, so that yet again Japanese capital might remain in Japanese hands rather than pass into those of the shipbuilders of the Clyde or the Tyne. Where, formerly, the whole supply of new vessels of the great Japanese shipping companies was bought abroad, it is now doubtful whether there will be any so purchased.

The shipbuilding yards of Japan have been developed up to the point where they can supply the needs of the Japanese merchants, and since this is all part of the national scheme, Japanese ships will henceforth be built in Japanese yards. This proficiency is not confined to the merchant vessels, for the same is true of the Government navy yards, where first-class cruisers are being constructed where, only a short half-century ago, sampans and small junks were the only craft thought of. In this connection, the Japanese Government proved its foresight in spending enormous sums of money, despite the outcry of the opposition in the Diet, upon the iron foundry and armour-plate works, that Japan might be able to supply the armour and the iron for the men-of-war as well as for the merchant vessels.

When the Japanese set to work to create the mercantile marine needed to carry the goods which were not yet manufactured and for which the machinery was not yet erected, they had by no means too simple a task before them. It was easy to calculate that there would be so many tons of cargo to be carried, but they had also to take into account the possibility of an increase in trade produced by the establishment of various steamship lines, which would fall into other hands before the new vessels could be built in Japan to make the marine adequate. It was early seen that it would be easier to ensure adequate results by a centralization of control of the shipping. Many of the smaller companies were combined, and the Government assisted the private concerns to extend their business. The Government did not remain passive, but, after one or two tentative arrangements, adopted a system of subsidy to the shipbuilders and shipping companies of Japan, which they calculated would encourage them sufficiently without costing the taxpayer too much. That they were right as to the efficacy of their arrangement the figures show, while it is highly probable that the amounts

granted as subsidies do not compare at all with the direct gain to the country, for much money remains in Japan which would otherwise have been lost, and labour is employed and the Government feels the benefit in increase of revenue. It is interesting to notice that the recent scheme for subsidies in the United States, which has not yet gone into effect, is modelled very closely upon the Japanese subsidy law. This is a direct evidence of the success of the Japanese methods, as the United States would scarcely take the Japanese bill as a model unless it was felt to be the best one available.

The idea of subsidies often seems to create a great opposition, especially in the British Empire. In some way or other it appears to the mind of the taxpayer as a bribe at his expense to certain favoured bodies. Yet all the time subsidies are being given under another name, and no outcry is made. The greatest difference is that when the Japanese Government grant a subsidy they obtain certain very definite privileges from the receiver for the benefit of the nation. "Great Britain," says Mr. Renpei Kondo, president of the great Japanese shipping company, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, "has attained a degree of maritime greatness unparalleled in history. Still, she does not abolish the system of State aids. The names she applies to such aids are various, as, for instance, 'bounty,' 'subvention,' 'subsidy,' 'remuneration,' and so on, but it is beyond discussion that all alike are aids. Then the sum she pays yearly for the carriage of mails is 7,857,650 yen, and in 1902 she entered into an agreement to pay the Cunard Company 1,500,000 yen annually, so that she spends in all 9,357,680 yen. France gives on account of the mails 10,472,712 yen, and for the encouragement of navigation 6,000,000 yen, so that the total disbursements on this account come to the large figure of 16,474,712 yen. Germany gives 3,900,000 yen to her Atlantic and Far Eastern lines, and further reduces the freights on goods carried by

her State railways for shipment in subsidized ocean-going vessels, besides which she remits import duties on materials for shipbuilding, so that altogether the indirect assistance given by the State is not small." From this it will be seen that the giving of State aid is common enough, even though the results are not so universally excellent. It is remarkable that in Europe the merchant marine which has developed the most rapidly is the German, where the Government assists directly and indirectly both the shipbuilders and the shipping companies.

A summary of the Navigation Encouragement Law and the Shipbuilding Encouragement Law will show how careful the Japanese Government is to secure definite return for any subsidies granted. When it is remembered also that in 1902 the total amount of the subsidies voted under both these laws was under £900,000, the achievement of the Government appears still more remarkable. As will be seen, the State's policy of encouragement is, to quote a leading authority, "one of compensation for services rendered, not a policy of benevolence." Before 1896 various kinds of assistance were given, from the gift of steamers to the long-continued guaranteeing to a company of a fixed rate of interest to the shareholders. At first, before the shipbuilding yards had developed into any importance, State aid was given to companies employing foreign-built vessels as well as to those employing Japanese-built ones. But after 1896 there was a considerable difference instituted, sufficiently great to frankly encourage Japanese companies to procure their vessels in Japan in preference to buying them abroad. The principal clauses of the bill are the following: The bounty for the encouragement of navigation will be granted, according to the provisions of this Act, to Japanese subjects or mercantile companies of which the members or shareholders shall be exclusively composed of Japanese subjects, engaging in the business of transportation of goods and passengers,

with ships solely owned by them and registered on the register of ships of Japan, either between various foreign ports or between ports of Japan and those of foreign countries.

A vessel entitled to the bounty, according to this Act, must be an iron or steel steamer of not less than 1000 tons gross, having maximum speed of not less than 10 knots per hour, and complying with the requirements of the shipbuilding regulations to be determined by the Minister of Communications.

An owner of a ship wishing to receive the bounty for his ship shall first obtain a certificate of competency of the ship from the Minister of Communications.

Precautions were taken to limit the ships available without injuring the effectiveness of the idea. The provision for the gradual reduction of the subsidy as the vessel becomes too old for use is calculated to keep the lines served by up-to-date vessels, and not by worn-out boats which might be able to squeeze into a speed and distance regulation.

The following classes of ships are not entitled to receive the bounty:—

1. Ships built in foreign countries which have five years since construction at the time of registration on the register of ships of Japan, the time of registration being after this Act is put in operation.

2. Ships that have passed fifteen years since construction.

3. Ships employed on routes under orders from the Imperial Government.

The bounty will be granted at the following rates: For a vessel of 1000 tons gross having a maximum speed of 10 knots per hour, 25 yen per ton for every 1000 miles she runs; and an increase of 10 per cent. for every additional 500 tons and of 20 per cent. for every additional maximum speed of 1 knot per hour.

But for a vessel of not less than 6500 tons gross, or not

less than 18 knots maximum speed, the rate will be the same as for a vessel of 6000 tons gross, or maximum speed of 17 knots per hour.

For a vessel which has not passed five years after construction the full amount of the bounty shall be granted, but for those having passed five years after construction, every addition of one year to the ship's age will entail an annual reduction of 5 per cent. on the rate of the preceding year.

For foreign-built ships registered in the register of ships of Japan on and after October 1, 1899, one-half the amount of the bounty specified in the two preceding clauses shall be granted.

In making calculation of the amount of the bounty for a vessel, fractions of a ton or a mile shall not be taken into account.

The number of miles navigated shall be calculated according to the distance of the shortest route between the respective ports.

In case of a vessel leaving Japan for foreign ports after calling at various ports in Japan, the last port in Japan called shall be deemed as the starting-point, and in case of a vessel coming from foreign countries to Japan, the first port called in Japan as the last point.

In proof of the mileage navigated, certificates issued by the local authorities of the ports called at shall be produced.

The returns to be made by the shipping companies to the nation in exchange for the subsidy are plainly stated, and care has been taken to safeguard the public interests even to the detriment of the rights of the shipping companies.

The Minister of Communications may issue an order to employ the vessel for which the certificate has been obtained for public service upon payment of reasonable compensation. But it is foreseen that what might seem

to the minister "reasonable compensation," might seem too little a recompense to the owner forced to withdraw his vessel from its regular services. It is therefore ordained that: Should the owner be dissatisfied with the amount of compensation mentioned in the preceding clause, he may sue in the court within a period of three months from the date of receiving the notification. The aforesaid law-suit will not prevent the employment of the vessel referred to herein.

The services as to postal matter—for which the governments of other countries often give the whole bounty—figures quite incidentally in the Japanese law:—

"In the voyage undertaken by owners of the vessels for which the certificate mentioned in Article III. has been obtained, postal officers, mail matter, parcels and their accessories, shall be carried free of charge if their conveyance be ordered by the Minister of Communications."

The acquisition of adequate Japanese officers and men to man the Japanese vessels form also part of the provision of the law. Every owner of the vessel for which the certificate has been obtained shall, at the order of the Minister of Communications, have to carry apprentices on board such vessel at his expense, within the limit of the following rate of number, and shall pay them such allowance as determined by the said minister:—

Gross tonnage.		Number of apprentices.	
Above 1000 and under 2500	2	
„ 2500 „ 4000	3	
„ 4000	4	

Owners of vessels for which the certificate has been obtained are not allowed to employ foreigners in the head or branch offices, or as officers on board the said ships, without first obtaining the sanction of the Minister of Communications. Should any vacancy in the officers be caused on board a vessel abroad, such vacancy may be

filled up by the commander, but at the same time the certificate of the local authorities of the place where such an event takes place must be obtained. In the event of having taken the aforesaid measure, the owner or master shall immediately seek the approval of the Minister of Communications.

Stringent restrictions are imposed in order to ensure that the subsidies are not misapplied or allowed to benefit the companies without adequate return being secured for the nation. Owners of the vessels for which the certificate has been obtained, or successors to their rights, are not permitted, either while employed on voyages under the aid of this Act, or during a period of three years after the completion of such voyage, to sell, lend, exchange, give, pawn, or mortgage such vessels to any foreigner, except the bounty already received on said vessels be first returned, or in case of said vessels becoming unserviceable through natural calamity or any other irresistible force, or when the owners have the special permission of the Minister of Communications.

The Minister of Communications may issue necessary instructions in connection with the obligations laid down upon the owners of ships by this Act, directly to their representatives or to masters of such vessels. Any person who receives the bounty by means of fraud, or violates the provisions of the Act shall be punished by imprisonment with hard labour for a period of not less than one year and not exceeding five years, with a fine of not less than 200 yen and not exceeding 1000 yen. Any person violating the provisions of the Act, or acting in defiance of the instructions issued by the Minister of Communications in accordance with this Act shall be liable to a penalty of not less than 20 yen, but not exceeding 500 yen. Any person obtaining the bounty by means of fraud shall be ordered to refund all such amount as he unlawfully secured, and any person violating the provisions of the

Act shall be ordered to refund such amount as he has already received. The Minister of Communications is authorized to suspend the grant of the bounty to any shipowner violating this Act, as also in the case of violation of the Act by his representative, or by the master of the vessel. This law was promulgated in 1896, and remains in force for eighteen years from the first of October of that year.

The Shipbuilding Encouragement Law was promulgated at the same time, but remains in force for only fifteen years. The principal terms of this law are as follows, the restrictions and the penalties being similar to those laid down in the Navigation Encouragement Law :—

Ships entitled to the bounty according to this law must be of iron or steel, with a gross tonnage of not less than 700 tons, and constructed under official supervision in accordance with the shipbuilding regulations to be determined by the Minister of Communications.

The shipbuilding encouragement bounty shall be granted at the rate of 12 yen per ton gross in case of vessels of not less than 700 but less than 1000 tons gross, and 20 yen per ton gross in case of and above 1000 tons gross. Where the engines are also manufactured, an additional bounty of 5 yen per indicated horse-power shall be granted. The above-mentioned additional bounty shall also be granted in case the engines are manufactured at other works within Japanese dominions, provided the permission of the Minister of Communications shall have been first obtained. In the construction of the hull and engines of ships for which the bounty is to be granted no foreign-made material should be employed, except in accordance with the regulations to be determined by the Minister of Communications.

The result of these laws may be gauged by comparing the figures of the shipping for the periods before their institution and those after 1896. In 1879 there were

only 110,000 tons gross of steam and sailing vessels, in 1889 there were 220,000 tons gross, and in 1896 there were 417,643 tons gross. From 1896 to 1904 there has been a very considerable increase, the tonnage reaching the high total of 1,096,908 tons in the latter year. Japan ranks ninth in the list of maritime nations, and the Nippon Yusen Kaisha stands sixth or seventh in point of tonnage amongst the principal shipping companies of the world.

The views of Mr. Kondo upon this subject cannot fail to be of supreme interest, since to him, as president and guiding spirit of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Japan owes so much of her success as a maritime nation. Mr. Kondo regards the granting of subsidies as necessary in these days, when "cosmopolitan Japan has to take her place side by side with other nations." Maritime enterprise he considers most valuable and worthy of encouragement, providing as it does "a reserve for the navy and wings for the army." "These laws," says Mr. Kondo, "were promulgated in March, 1896, and the duly fixed amounts of encouragement money having then become payable to persons who, being Japanese subjects, built with Japanese capital ships that satisfied the prescribed standards, and to persons who conducted maritime services between Japan and foreign countries with these ships, companies and individuals who contemplated engaging in such undertakings set to work to build vessels of the prescribed standard, or to buy them, so that maritime enterprise thenceforth received an extraordinary impetus in Japan. Statistics show that since the year of promulgation of the above laws, the increase in Japanese owned steamers of 1000 tons and upwards has risen from 126 steamers, with an aggregate tonnage of 265,696 tons in 1896, to 182 steamers, and 496,864 tons in 1902 (329 steamers in 1904). Thus, in the space of six years subsequent to the promulgation of these laws, the number of steamers increased by 56, and the total

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tonnage by 204,167 tons, the latter figure being an increase of 78 per cent. Nor is it in the matter of numbers and tonnage only that progress has been marked. There has been a corresponding development in the quality of the vessels and in the process of construction. The following table will show how many ships have been built so as to satisfy the requirements of the above two laws :—

	To legal standard.	Tonnage.
1896	1	3,967
1897	15	68,683
1898	27	126,195
1899	29	133,733
1900	34	162,651
1901	44	184,420
1902	43	187,000

“ This table indicates an increase of over 180,000 tons in six years, which was plainly the result of the laws for the encouragement of navigation and shipbuilding ; a result that might well astonish Europeans and Americans themselves in the race of maritime enterprise. Proceeding now to divide the above 43 steamers into the two classes of those employed on specially contracted lines and those working under the ordinary provisions of the encouragement law, we find that there are 29 steamers of an aggregate tonnage of 140,254 on the special lines, and 14 steamers, aggregating 46,746 tons, on the ordinary lines. Again, the ownership of these various vessels are as follows :—

SPECIALLY CONTRACTED LINES.

	Ships.	Tons.
Nippon Yusen Kaisha	18	105,892
Toyo Kisen Kaisha	3	18,644
Osaka Shosen Kaisha	7	14,118
Oya Shichihei	1	1,669

ORDINARY ASSISTED LINES.

Nippon Yusen Kaisha	5	24,155
Mitsui Bussan Kaisha	5	13,635
Mitsui Bishi Goshi Kaisha	3	7,287
Osaka Shosen Kaisha'.	1	1,669

"It will thus be seen that the steamers employed as services receiving assistance under the general provision of the law only aggregate some 46,000 tons, and there is not a great tendency toward increase in this direction. If we now turn to the question of the amount paid by the State on account of these three funds, encouragement of navigation, encouragement of shipbuilding, and subsidies, it appears, according to the latest statistics, that the sum defrayed annually by the Treasury is a little over 8,491,400 yen. This total is allotted as follows :—

SPECIAL SUBSIDIZED SERVICES.

Nippon Yusen Kaisha—	Yen.
European line	2,673,884
Seattle line	654,030
Australian line	525,657
Bombay line	178,785
Services in Far Eastern and domestic waters	550,000
Toyō Kisen Kaisha—	
Hongkong and San Francisco line	1,013,880
Osaka Shosen Kaisha—	
Yangtse line	354,942
Formosa and South China lines	574,404
Kohe-Korea line	37,168
Oya—	
Japan Sea line	140,000
Daitō Kisen Kaisha—	
Shanghai-Suchon-Hanchow line	57,873
Services in Hokkaido.	

NAVIGATION ENCOURAGEMENT FUNDS.

Nippon Yusen Kaisha	703,806
Mitsui Bussan Kaisha	178,089
Mitsui Bishi Goshi Kaisha.	24,308

SHIPBUILDING ENCOURAGEMENT FUNDS.

Mitsui Bishi Zosen-jo	383,674
Osaka Tetsuko-jo	89,935
Kawasaki Zosen-jo	68,645
Ishikawa Zosen-jo	38,840

"Certainly the sum of 8,500,000 yen disbursed in accordance with these laws is not small, but if we compare it with

the results achieved in the past six years, the increase of new steamers, the consolidation of lines of maritime service, and the establishment of the building industry, we cannot but feel that a large acquisition has been made at a small cost. Six years ago we did not even obtain a place in the nations' register of tonnage, yet in Lloyd's Register for July, 1903, Japan figures as the owner of 500,000 tons, and stands ninth in order of magnitude. With regard to countries possessing vessels of 12-knots' speed and upwards, Japan has leaped to the fifth place. Nor is that all. Six years ago virtually no shipbuilding enterprise was to be seen in this country, whereas to-day yards at Nagasaki, Kobe, and elsewhere have come to be able to build big ships. Not only is it no longer necessary to send orders abroad for vessels of 5000 tons and upwards, but any man-of-war also can be built without difficulty. This is remarkable progress, it must be admitted."

Besides these concrete proofs of the encouragement system, there are many other advantages which have come to Japan with the development of her merchant marine. Competition with the existing foreign lines brought down the prices of freight and also of passenger rates. The lowering of freights brought about a considerable increase in the imports and exports, and saved the Japanese manufacturers large sums of money. As an example of the benefits which accrue may be adduced the Bombay service. When this service was opened, the rate of freight for raw cotton was 17 rupees a ton, but by means of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha ships it has been gradually reduced to 10½ rupees. From 1894 to 1902 the money saved in cotton freights alone aggregated 2,547,236 yen. The assistance thus rendered the development of the cotton-spinning industry of Japan has been very considerable. Japan's foreign trade increased 83 per cent. from 1896 to 1902, mounting from 289,517,235 yen to 503,031,323 yen.* This

* In 1904 it had increased to 690,621,635 yen.

increase was what the Japanese had foreseen, and for which they had prepared their mercantile marine. How accurate their foresight had been and how successfully they had carried out their projects for the national good may be gathered from the following figures: In 1896 the carrying capacities of Japanese and foreign vessels were respectively 11·47 and 88·53 per cent., in 1902 they were 39·23 and 60·77 per cent. Thanks to this, very considerable amounts, which formerly went into the pockets of foreigners, now finds its way into the hands of the Japanese. Taking the figures for 1902, in connection with the Nippon Yusen Kaisha we find that 6,301,500 yen were disbursed in Japan out of a gross revenue of 12,632,400 yen. This was 130,500 yen over and above the annual subsidy granted by the Government. There is also another advantage which Mr. Kondo considers of value, and that is the thoroughness which provided three laws to work together, as may be gathered from the following remarks:—

“The consolidation of services that has resulted from the special subsidies received by the shipping companies under contract with the Government is a feature of development and progress worth special attention. Of course the increase of big vessels and the growth of the ship-building art are matters for sincere congratulation, but without the consolidation of services the greater part of these advantages would be sacrificed. Thus the law for assisting navigation had worked in combination with the other two laws to perfect the development of maritime enterprise, and the consequence is, that the maritime enterprise of Japan, which six years ago was comprised within the small limits of domestic waters, China, and Korea, has now been extended to the face of five continents, and their lines in foreign seas have obtained a firm place from which they are not to be ousted. This is the result of extending abroad our fixed period lines; and that the foresight of our Government and of the Diet has been justified by results

cannot be doubted. Neither can it be questioned that the idea of creating a powerful machine which should serve as a reserve and as a means of transport for an armed country has been virtually achieved."

It is self-evident that the successful creation of a mercantile marine would not be complete if the vessels were manned and officered by foreigners. Steps were early taken to meet this difficulty, and success has been achieved in a remarkable degree. Circumstances still necessitate the employment in some of the European lines of foreign officers, but there is a very great difference between the numbers of Japanese and foreign certificated officers employed in 1896 and 1904. In 1896 there were 887 foreign officers and engineers to 4478 Japanese, while in 1904 there were 349 and 17,032 respectively. There are special schools established for the training of merchant marine officers, principally the Nautical College, under Government supervision, and the Merchant Navigation School. A Sailors' Home was established in 1880 for the training of sailors, as well as the assistance of their families. Since 1896 this institution has been subsidized by the Government.

To further the national welfare, the Japanese created industries in an agricultural country, they brought into being the merchant marine to supplement the industries, they established shipbuilding yards to build the ships of the mercantile marine, and they trained the officers to man them. The mercantile marine that came into being with the industrial growth of the country is in every sense of the word a national fleet, and it will remain so, because to be other would be to contradict the very cause of its existence. After having established industries and brought into existence the merchant marine, the Japanese created a foreign trade to employ the vessels, this step being in every respect as much a part of the national scheme of progress for the good of the State as were the other

two. "It may be confidently asserted," says a Japanese authority, "that the Japanese people fully realize the necessity of possessing a large fleet, not merely in the interests of the country's commercial independence, but also for military and naval reasons. Further, they are fully alive to the fact that the eyes of the commercial and industrial world are turned towards the growing markets of China, Siberia, and Eastern Asia in general, and that shipping companies and firms of Germany, America, and other countries are already seeking a footing in this part of the world by extending trunk-lines or by opening feeding-lines. These facts, considered in conjunction with the activity Japan has already displayed in the domain of maritime enterprise, indicate that she will not allow herself to be outdistanced by other nations. It is indeed difficult to predict accurately the direction which the extension of her efforts will take, but the fact that they will be extended does not admit of any question."

CHAPTER X

MAKING TRADE

"WE possess," says Baron Kaneko, "every qualification necessary for the development of our country into a great nation—namely, the commercial supremacy of the Pacific and of the Asiatic continent. This problem the European nations are most earnestly studying, but among all the competing countries Japan is most advantageously situated. We are so near the region of the impending struggle—the Asiatic continent—that we can reach it in less than twenty-four hours. We do not lack the means to accomplish our purpose, and the attainment of the end depends only upon our diligence and effort."

The progress already attained by the Japanese "diligence and effort" is amazing enough. The beginning of the present Meiji era in Japan saw the country practically without any trade at all. What there was had sprung up in a more or less desultory fashion after the arrival of Commodore Perry. But in all there was only a trade of 26,246,545 yen in 1868, there being 15,553,473 yen worth of exports and 10,693,072 yen worth of imports. In 1904 the total trade was valued at 690,621,635 yen! The thirty-five years had seen an increase of twenty-three times! And this trade is very evenly balanced, there being 319,260,896 yen of exports to 371,360,739 yen of imports. It has been seen how the nation set to work to build up its industries, the results of that endeavour is seen in the value of the exports which year by year leave the shores

of Japan. Gradually, also, the balance of trade has mounted in favour of Japan, and in one year there was only three hundred thousand pounds sterling against her. This is a truly remarkable achievement, for it is literally a case of trade being made. There is no time for passively awaiting developments in acquiring a yearly trade of that value in thirty-five years. While this trade was being built up it must be remembered that the Japanese were also creating a fleet of merchant vessels to carry it. It was no part of the Japanese plan in building up their trade to benefit foreign merchants and foreign shipowners. How little these have benefited relatively may be seen from the figures given below, which demonstrate plainly how each and every branch of Japanese national endeavour dovetails into the other. There are no cracks through which the non-Japanese can to any extent slip in, and those cracks which perforce remained open are being closed one by one. One of these cracks is the allowing of Japanese trade to pass through the hands of foreign middlemen. The early days of Japanese contact with Western civilization saw the settling of many foreign merchants in the then treaty ports who acted as intermediaries between the inexperienced Japanese merchant and the European consumer. It was an opportunity which the foreign merchants seized with avidity, and was so profitable that they may well be loth to relinquish it. But their day is past, at least their day of monopoly, and it cannot be said that they do not deserve the fate which awaits them. Making all their livelihood out of the Japanese nation, they have been Japan's worst enemies and the direct source of the majority of that misrepresentation which has been spread about things Japanese throughout the world. The foreign press of Japan commits enormities against the Government which would not be tolerated in the most liberal of European states. Perhaps it is the foreshadowing of their inevitable doom which embitters these men against

their benefactors, or perhaps the pagoda tree is no longer so easily shaken! The *Japan Mail* and its proprietor, Captain Brinkley, form a notable exception, and are perhaps the best foreign friends of Japan—indeed, so intimate are they that it is scarcely right to call them foreign.

However, the Japanese nation now means to do their trading through Japanese business men, not through foreigners. Besides the money which such a course ensures remaining in the country, it does away with the existence of the past state of affairs with its semi-dependence on foreign middlemen for the export trade, which was detrimental to every branch of national efficiency.

“At present,” says Baron Kaneko, “our traders are firing in the dark; they send their goods out without knowing for what market they are intended. A Japanese manufacturer sends his goods to Yokohama, and knows nothing of its further destination.” And yet, even with this difficulty to be overcome, Japanese trade has been steadily developing.

The doom of the foreign middlemen is foreshadowed in the figures of the Japanese home trade of 1894 and 1903, which speak with no uncertain voice.* In 1894 goods were exported to the value of 5,746,869 yen in Japanese steamers, 62,936,982 yen in British, 13,045,000 in French, 12,119,428 in German, and 10,011,000 in American. In 1903 the figures were respectively 114,276,588 yen, 88,848,936, 15,792,508, 40,940,502, and 16,073,313 yen. Japanese sailing vessels carried 1,476,289 yen worth of the total 3,034,753 carried by this means. Of imports the Japanese vessels carried less, owing no doubt to their being less known in foreign ports; but still there was an enormous growth, out of all proportion to the mere

* The figures of 1904 are not given, as they are not so just, owing to the dislocation of the war with Russia, and the taking over of many of the merchant vessels for transport duty.

increase of trade. In 1894 Japanese, British, French, German, and American steamers carried respectively 10,353,694, 65,028,949, 9,197,054, 17,373,809, 130,561,187, 6,325,290, 37,983,063, and 7,665,213 yen. In 1903 Japanese sailing vessels carried 2,333,285 yen worth of imports of the 7,437,977 yen worth carried in this way.

The Japanese do not look to their army and navy as the supreme factors in national progress, however much they admire them and maintain them at a high standard of efficiency. One of the leading men of Japan summed up the situation when he said: "A war, not of soldiers, but of business men, is constantly being fought nowadays all over the world, and the crown of victory will rest with those nations which are successful within their commercial enterprises." Thus, even when circumstances force Japan into war, any successes which may attend her arms are considered valuable only as the opening wedge for allowing her commercial forces to enter the field. It must be stated, though, that the Japanese motto in trade is unequivocally "the open door and equal opportunity." Japan is sure of herself, and because her trade is built on solid foundations can afford to run against the beneficial effects of competition.

Besides developing their trade with the world at large, the Japanese have very definite ideas as to the particular relation which she should occupy towards the Asiatic nations in that respect.

Baron Shibusawa, the greatest industrial factor of Japan, says of this general commercial question: "I think we can supply the Oriental markets even now better than other nations can. The trade of the Oriental countries will come to be regarded as Japan's natural share, and she is already well able to supply it." According to Mr. Yamamoto, Governor of the Bank of Japan, "Japan is quite young in her commercial career, but she is making a splendid basis for manufactures, not only for domestic

consumption, but for export to China and to other Eastern markets, as she has cheap coal, cheap labour, and facilities for transportation."

M. Kokuro Takahira, the present Minister to the United States, said recently: "Speaking in general terms regarding the relations which Japan should maintain with the Philippines and the other Far Eastern countries, it is very simple, only that they should be good neighbours—good neighbours, whose commerce and industry will steadily grow and develop, and whose social and political conditions will be progressive and peaceful. Japan has never had any intention of taking advantage of the misfortune of her neighbours, or seeking for territorial aggrandizement, but the sincere desire of her Government and people is to have all the neighbouring countries realize that mutual interests can best be promoted by the maintenance of peace, the promotion of commerce and industry, and the strengthening of the ties of interdependence."

One part of the *rôle* that Japan hopes to play in the future is shown in an interview with Baron Kaneko Kentaro in America. He said: "Japan must be the big salesman and the middleman for a trade, the limits of which cannot be at present appreciated by Americans. They will learn more of its possibilities before the present war is ended, and when it is ended, whether to Japan's advantage or to her disadvantage, there will be a rush of commerce to the Far East quite unprecedented in the history of trade. And America, which is to have the lion's share of this trade, cannot handle it to advantage without Japanese assistance."

What is true of America is also true of the other countries of the world. Just as Hongkong has in the past become the distributing centre for foreign trade in the Far East, so Japan will be the agency through which foreign countries will do business in the Far East. Not that Japan does not expect to ultimately obtain a large

share of the trade for herself; but until she is able to supply the whole demand she is ready to act as middleman for others. This is a policy which is based upon sound common sense, and which will do much to bring into the country the wealth necessary for national development, and later secure for Japan a premier place in the trading nations of the world.

The answer to the question of what has been Japan's guiding sentiment, and upon what broad principle she has conducted her national endeavour in this direction is to be found in the Emperor's oath on his accession to the throne. He declared "that knowledge should be sought for throughout the world, so that the welfare of the empire might be promoted." It has been by seeking knowledge in every nation that Japan has succeeded so well not only in her building up of trade but in nearly every department of national life. Baron Shibusawa says on this point: "Any laws or organizations which form obstacles to the world-wide expansion of Japan's commerce should be done away with. We all should unite in exchanging ideas with the leading men of the world, thus acquainting ourselves with the position of foreign commerce, while at the same time making it our national policy to give foreigners a clearer insight into the real condition of Japan's finance, economics, commerce, and industry. Both the Government and the people should unite in this attempt. . . . I understand that the Chamber of Commerce of Japan desire to extend their commercial interests to foreign countries. If that be really the case, local feelings should be done away with; at the same time they must seek commercial knowledge far and wide."

This universal search for knowledge has been the foundation, the guiding principle of Japan's national development as a commercial country. This principle has sent Japanese princes to the workshop of American engineering works, and the sons of Japanese peasants to

the laboratories of the world's scientists. It is as wide-spreading as the nation and as far-reaching as the confines of the world. No prejudices, no racial feelings have been allowed to stand in the path of this search after knowledge ; those nations which have showed themselves the enemies of Japan have paid toll of their knowledge to the Japanese students. No country is too small, no people too insignificant to be neglected by the Japanese nation in seeking to make Japan one of the great commercial nations of the world.

"Perhaps," says one writer, "the most important of all the means by which Japan has advanced in Western knowledge and ideas is by sending young men abroad as students. Very soon after Japan had resolved to enter into free intercourse with other nations she began to send some of her best youth to live among them for study, theoretical and practical, and admirably has the experiment succeeded. Besides the numbers who have gone on their own account, many hundreds have been sent at the expense of the Government, which, in spite of its comparative poverty, has never grudged any expense necessary for their getting the full advantage of their stay in foreign parts."

To thus utilize the youth, virile and energetic, full of the vigour of enthusiasms for the upward trend of life, instead of the middle-aged man, more experienced perhaps, but less efficient in energy, is a masterstroke of policy. It forms of the young men, not only students who have learned, but men who, having accomplished something definite for their fatherland, return to the national service as more practical patriots than they would have been had they stayed always at home.

It was in 1895 that the systematic despatch of special individuals to search out markets and furnish reports was first begun. In that year the Government commenced to send regularly, in ever-increasing numbers, officials and commissioners to investigate the ground for the development

of Japanese commerce. Great anxiety was felt that every effort should be made to promote direct relations in the export trade between Japanese merchants and foreign consumers. In this year also a number of Japanese merchants and manufacturers organized a "Foreign Trade Association," whose object throws much light upon the national feeling towards the subject of foreign trade. The association was founded with the following intentions: "To report facts important to exports; to secure increased facilities; to prevent the export of spurious products; to secure government encouragement for the export trade; for the education of able men for the export trade; to encourage intimacy between producers and exporters; to encourage the development of industries for export; to examine the commercial conditions and requirements of foreign markets."

The Government does not only send officials on these missions, student commercial agents and student manufacturers, as well as private individuals expert in various branches of industries, are sent over the world to investigate and report. Those who have thus been sent abroad have the whole or part of their travelling expenses paid for them. From 1895 to 1901, eight years, 124 such investigators were sent abroad by the Government. How wide a range of subjects were studied may be seen from the fact that amongst their destinations were China, Europe, North and South America, the South Seas, Straits Settlements, Siberia, Korea, India, the Philippines, etc.

Besides these interesting specialists there have been going yearly since 1896 other student commercial agents and manufacturers, in order that they might receive practical teaching either in commercial establishments or in factories. These students are selected from amongst those recommended by the leading business and financial men of the Japanese provinces. It was in this way that

Prince Yashimoto learnt his trade in the Altoona Engine Works, U.S.A. In Japan to be a prince does not debar a young man from being of practical and actual assistance to the nation. In many cases some pecuniary assistance is given to the students, although many decline it. Whether they are in receipt of assistance or not, they are under the control and supervision of the nearest legation or consulate. Those who receive help are required to send home regular reports to the Government on the subjects which they are studying. And all the students, irrespective of assistance, send such reports. Each year has seen the increase of these students despatched abroad, and with each twelve-month the area covered has widened. The numbers are as follows, not flattering to Great Britain, but very much so to the United States, which takes, however, perhaps more students to cover so great an area :—

- 1896. 1 each to Mexico, Germany, England, France, China ; 5 to the United States.
- 1897. 10 continued from preceding year—1 to Bombay ; 2 additional to United States.
- 1898. 13 continued from preceding year ; 4 new, and 2 not receiving help—1 each to Mexico, Germany, England, British India ; 3 each to China and France ; 8 to United States.
- 1899. 15 continued from preceding year ; 27 new ; 5 not receiving help—1 each to Mexico, England, Belgium, Russia, Siberia, Australia, British India ; 6 to France ; 5 to Germany ; 15 to the United States ; 19 to China.
- 1900. 32 continued ; 24 new ; 2 not receiving help—16 to United States ; 12 to France ; 6 to Germany ; 2 each to England, Russia, and Siberia ; 1 each to Belgium and Australia ; 14 to China.
- 1901. 31 continued ; 59 new ; and 7 not receiving help—11 each to France and Germany ; 2

each to British Canada, Mexico, Peru, Straits Settlements, and Java ; 3 each to Belgium, Hongkong, Australia, and Siberia ; 1 each to Russia, Switzerland, and the Philippines ; 14 to the United States ; 25 to China.

The success of these expeditions after knowledge has been so marked that the example of the Government has been followed by Japanese business houses. Notably must be mentioned the action of the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, which has set apart no less than 30,000 yen annually to defray the expenses of sending numbers of young men to China and other nations to enable them to acquire the necessary qualifications for the prosecution of the business. At first the choice will be limited to young men in the company's service, but later candidates from other services will be eligible. This patriotic example is certain to be followed by other business concerns, more especially as it is founded on good and tried business principles—the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha having experimented on a small scale before launching out into this broadly conceived scheme.

Another factor which has eminently assisted the growth of Japanese trade is the Commercial Samples Museum, of which the country already possesses about forty. New ones are constantly being opened in Japan and abroad, as is shown by the following notice appearing only recently in a Japanese paper :—

“The Japanese Chamber of Commerce at Fusan is going to build a commercial museum there at a cost of 70,000 yen, the existing museum building being thought too small for the institution. The museum will have a bazaar attached to it.”

Seven thousand pounds sterling for the building alone of a commercial museum in a small Korean city is a sum which would make our chambers of commerce literally gasp. And yet the Fusan chamber has had to do this in

order to keep pace with its development. Of the museums, that established in connection with the Department of Agriculture and Commerce in Tokyo is the finest, besides being the original model. It was established in 1897, and contains 23,000 samples—12,000 being foreign and 10,000 Japanese, besides some mixed. The samples of domestic produce comprise commodities that are already exported, or ones which are likely to be exported. A notable feature is the exhibition of samples of Japanese goods intended to compete in Japanese markets with foreign goods. The foreign samples show generally the goods imported from abroad, which enables the Japanese manufacturer to meet them. Raw materials which might be imported with advantage in order to re-export are also included. The museum forms an excellent medium for keeping the Japanese and foreigners in touch in commercial and industrial affairs. Not only do the museums gather information from the world for the use of Japan, but they also enable the foreign consumers to see Japan's exports at a glance. There are a number of museums abroad; in 1902 there were such official institutions at Shasi, Hankau, Chunking, Bombay, Singapore, and Bangkok. These were organized under the Foreign Trade Expansion Programme of 1895. Many private samples museums also exist, and receive State aid. The official museums abroad are placed under the control of the consulates, and left in charge of properly qualified merchants. In this way the museums act as a medium for the direct transaction of business between Japanese and foreign merchants. The Tokyo Museum is overcrowded, and lends many of its samples to local museums, or organizes exhibitions in localities where good work may be done.

There exist several institutions for the encouragement of commerce, notably the chambers of commerce, of which there are now nearly sixty in the whole country. Started by Baron Shibusawa, the Tokyo Chamber of

Commerce has gradually seen springing up around it, in every important town of Japan, similar institutions. Formed of the best business men of Japan, these chambers of commerce are indefatigable in seeking new outlets for trade and efficient methods of taking advantage of them. The Government recognized in 1896 the necessity of having some special advisory body to assist in the promotion of trade, and founded the Higher Council of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry. This consisted of twenty members besides the chairman and vice-chairman. Of these, fifteen were business men of note, and five were officials from the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Communications. By this means the Government officials were able to come into touch with the business men of the country. In 1897 the organization was amended, the number of members being increased to thirty, and domestic trade being brought into the province of its deliberations. The subjects placed before the Council by the Department of Agriculture and Commerce during its first session related to foreign affairs alone, but serve to show the scope of the Council's work:—

“Matters relating to (1) the despatch of commissioners to the Yangtse-kiang region of China to investigate the navigation route there; (2) the expansion of banking facilities in connection with foreign trade; (3) the establishment of bonded warehouses under supervision of the Customs Houses; (4) the expansion of sale of the principal exports; (5) correspondence on the situation of foreign markets; (6) marine insurance; (7) control and protection of workmen; (8) the operation of the gold monometallic system and its effect on agriculture, commerce, and industry at home; (9) its effect on foreign trade; (10) the measures to be adopted for minimizing the harmful effects and for increasing the beneficial effects; (11) encouragement of tea export; (12) encouragement of silk export. The Council also discussed other matters on its own initiative.

Industrial guilds to the number of 1149 are established under Government encouragement. These have for principal object the maintaining of a high and regular standard of excellence in the quality of goods for export. They are very much alive to the value of the development of trade, and only recently the forty-seven trade guilds of Tokyo met together and decided to found an association called the Tokyo Trade Guild's Association, "with a view to promote the commerce and industry of the country, the drawing up of the necessary rules to be entrusted to the representatives of the forty - seven guilds." Some of the guilds receive considerable Government subsidies, notably the Central Tea Guild, which receives 35,000 yen. In return for this they have to present an estimate of its expenditure to the Minister of Commerce for his approval. In 1905, for example, these included, for the Tea Guild, the following schemes necessitating special outlay: "A branch office established at St. Louis, in order to keep samples there; trial sales undertaken at various centres abroad; the branch office at Paris kept open as heretofore; a tea-house establishment at the Liège Exhibition."

The Government has introduced a decidedly novel method in the experimental production of commercial commodities. Since 1896 it has had experimental production work carried on by the technical schools and workshops. When success attends the experiments and saleable products result, the process and methods employed are published to enable manufacturers to take advantage of them. This has been found to produce very excellent results, and is likely to be further developed in the future.

The educational system forms the basis of commercial development in the Japanese mind just as it does for nearly every branch of national life. "The Japanese," says a modern Japanese writer, "study causes. They know that there can be no strong army without years of training and discipline for its soldiers, and no capable

merchants without a proper system of education. Hence the necessity of commercial education. Commercial education is in Japan, however, a thing of a few decades only. Before it was accepted by the people, many difficulties lay in its way. Even the name itself was scarcely understood by the bulk of the nation thirty years ago. Our merchants in those days had been brought up around the counters from boyhood, and had received no other training than calculation, letter-writing, and making out of accounts and receipts. What we call business morality at present was almost lacking at that time. The best that a merchant knew consisted in receiving his customers agreeably, and in knowing how to manage, after much useless haggling, to buy at the cheapest cost and to sell at the highest price." There was no commercial training at the time of the Restoration, but, says the same writer, "it was, nevertheless, as it is and will be hereafter, of vital importance to promote the strength of the nation by practical work more than by any abstract reasoning, by active trade rather than by politics and law. The training of young men for this line of life was of paramount consequence for the future progress of the people."

Viscount Mori, one of Japan's most enlightened statesmen, who gave his life for his country's progress, started the first commercial school in Japan, which has now grown into the Higher Commercial College of Tokyo, probably the finest commercial training school in the whole world. At first the way of the school was hard, the whole current of feeling and sentiment being against the idea of commercialism. But Viscount Mori, and later Mr. Yano, than whom nobody has done more for commercial education in Japan, fought on without losing courage. Gradually the current of opinion began to change, and the school grew rapidly in the number of its students, and turned out yearly young men well equipped for business, results that showed the great efficiency of the education in a most

indisputable manner. Mercantile houses, whether new or old, now began to vie with one another in employing the graduates of the school. They found the value and realized the importance of such education more and more.

From a small school of about twenty students, the institution had grown into a college containing in 1905 1089 students and sixty professors, of whom ten are foreigners. Mr. Yano educates his students by always aiming to make them not only practical and useful, but gentlemen in the highest moral sense. There are now over fifty local business schools spread over various parts of the country. A higher institution in Kobe has been recently established. The school in Waseda, founded by Count Okuma, and under the directorship of Dr. Amano, was also instituted on the most improved methods advocated by Mr. Yano, and promises to give young men the most practical attainments in the shortest possible space of time. What the graduates of these schools are doing in the commercial world affords the young men sufficient encouragement for their future, and what has been already achieved furnishes a mark at which they should aim their future course. What was most despicable thirty years ago has now become an honourable occupation, and one which any ambitious youth might aspire after.

The management of the Higher Commercial College is in the hands of a committee on education, which includes representatives of the Minister of Education and leading business men, as well as the director of the school, the immediate supervision being in the hands of the director. Modelled originally on the Institut Supérieur de Commerce of Antwerp, this Japanese college has far surpassed its model, and may be said to lead the world. Degrees of "Doctor of Commerce" are granted. Commercial ethics are taught, a subject not even dreamed of in Western commercial schools, and a great feature is the teaching of

foreign languages. A recent writer gives the following points of interest :—

“In addition to the Japanese professors, several foreign professors for commercial subjects and languages have been called in ; also Japanese and foreign professors of the Imperial University of Tokyo, the College of Navigation, etc., as well as some judges of the Supreme Court and the Tokyo Court of Appeal, for various other subjects of study, have been engaged by the college. The work of the college is supplemented by sending a number of the best students to foreign countries for the study of special departments ; and these, after their return to Japan, have, almost without exception, taken high positions either as teachers or as business men. The course of instruction extends over one year in the preparatory course, three years in the principal course, and two years in the professional department or the post-graduate course, making a total of six years. The course in the first year includes the preliminary, literary, language, and scientific studies which are applied in commerce, and, in addition, commercial morality and gymnastics. Special attention is paid to the two last-named subjects, as it is considered of the utmost importance that the students should have implanted in their minds high ideals of business morality ; and also that they should have a good physique and sound health, as a basis for social integrity and usefulness in the commercial world. The principal course of study, extending over three years, includes all the more theoretical subjects necessary in a commercial course, such as commercial and industrial geography, commercial and industrial history, political economy, public finance, statistics, civil law, commercial law, international law, science of commerce, besides languages, both European and Asiatic.”

The Japanese system of commercial schools is unique, in that the courses of study are built consecutively one upon the other. The advantage of this to the student is

obvious, since it enables him to study continuously for a series of years without repetition or overlapping. The commercial schools are divided into two grades, the elementary and the ordinary ; in both of these the teaching is similar to that of the Higher Commercial College, only naturally not so advanced. Should the student pass through all the grades, he will have eight or ten years' study.

There is also a Higher Commercial College more recently founded at Kobe, which differs somewhat in length of courses from the Tokyo College. Japan may consider that her foundation for commercial education is well laid, and the students who come from her commercial schools year by year will reward her by raising the national commercial prestige higher.

"The Japanese," says a recent writer, "do not interpret technical education in the narrow sense in which it is usually interpreted, but, under it, include all that is necessary for carrying on the industrial and commercial business of the nation. They believe that commercial training is just as necessary as what is usually considered technical training, for they recognize that the advantages to be derived from the applications of science may, to a large extent, be lost without a proper knowledge of the financial and economic conditions necessary for success."

The question of consuls naturally occupies a good deal of attention in Japanese commercial schemes. The Japanese believe in practical consuls, and one of the courses at the Higher Commercial College is especially designed for those entering the consular services. Japanese consuls are expected to work hard, and let slip no opportunities of pushing forward national interests. As has been seen, the commercial sample museums are under the control of the consuls, as are also the student commercial agents.

At present the consular service of Japan is controlled by the Foreign Office, but the anomalous nature of this arrangement is causing a considerable amount of influence

to be brought to bear in order to transfer them to the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, where they properly belong. Baron Kaneko, who has held the portfolio of Agriculture and Commerce, says on this subject: "Another point necessary to be brought under consideration is that of the appointment of consuls to foreign countries. Heretofore these appointments, as is seen in the records of foreign intercourse between various countries, have been made by the Department of Foreign Affairs. But now it becomes evident that the importance of commercial affairs in a country has begun to be perceived by the Government of many countries; the attention of statesmen is being paid as much to commerce as to the military defence, and I hear that the selection of these officials is made with a view to the promotion of commerce, and that some of the wideawake nations of the West have placed these officials under the direct instruction of the Department of Commerce of the Treasury, instead of under the Department of Foreign Affairs. If we wish to expand our country, economically within and commercially without, we must be acquainted with the affairs of other countries. Our foreign diplomats should be required to report on the progress of commercial and economic affairs, especially to such as are related directly with Japan, of the countries to which they are sent, and not expected merely to perform the function of representative. It is desirable, therefore, that the selection and appointment of consuls should be made by the Department of Commerce and Agriculture, and that these officials should receive their instructions, if not entirely, at least largely, from that department. I desire, also, that those who go abroad for the purpose of observation, whether in an official function or in a private capacity, should study in more detail the aspect of our trade as related to foreign countries."

Japanese merchants show a pertinacity and perseverance

in developing foreign markets, which promises well for the future of the foreign trade. To quote from a Japanese paper on the subject of the establishment of the Japanese match export in Asia. "Failure well sustained is a thing not to be disappointed at, but is always found full of the germs of ultimate success. The match manufacture at Kobe, for instance, has been brought to its present flourishing state by a succession of industrial heroes who have utterly failed, but been brave enough to persist in pursuing the business. In the beginning of the manufacture, all the attempts made at the exportation of the articles to China and Shingapore had ended in utter failure, and those concerned in the enterprise have had their full share of misfortune. But without such failure it would be impossible to see them exported in such abundance as they are at present. Hence the advisability of conferring on such brave heroes the same honours and remunerations as those given by the Government to the warriors. They must be encouraged by all means, for they pave the way for successful men of business, in utter disregard of their own personal interests. Indeed, there is hardly any difference between them and those great soldiers whom the nation has deified for their great service to the country."

This is the true spirit of a great commercial nation, and places the value of commerce and war in their true proportion. The same paper continues—

"Seeing that our warriors have already achieved great things in Eastern Asia, our men of business should never remain idle, but attempt at any cost to push forward to the place where our influence has become paramount, with a view to the accomplishment of something great conducive to our true national interests. It is undoubtedly a mission devolved upon victorious Japan that she should aim at becoming in the Far East the centre of commerce and industry no less than the leading military and naval power."

As has been said before, Japan's commercial policy in Asia is "the open door and equal opportunity." And yet how few nations, though professing the same principle, believe in Japan's sincerity. Ignorance is the worst of international failings, and the fact that so little is known of far distant countries leads people to imagine impossible complications. Take the instance of the absurd rumour that Japan intends to erect tariff walls around Korea and Manchuria. After going to war to secure the open door, Japan, say her enemies, is going to shut it. Nothing could be further from the truth, although it must be confessed that why, if Russia was allowed to shut up Manchuria with a tariff and discriminatory railway rates, it should be criminal for Japan to do the same is difficult of comprehension. Be that as it may, Japan is determined to keep a fair field and let all nations have open competition. Her advantage comes from her nearness to the market ; her better understanding of the needs of the peoples ; and she feels that if she were able to preserve her own country from the foreigner and build up a foreign trade, there is no reason why she should not more than hold her own with the open door. Similarly, the alarmist cries of the awakening of China by Japan arise from pure ignorance. China is looked upon as the greatest of Japan's markets, and it is inconceivable that Japan should deliberately set to work to not only destroy this market, but also to raise up a competitor in every line of commercial life. No! Japan knows too much about her gigantic but inert neighbour to do anything so foolish. In 1902 the volume of Japanese trade with China amounted to over 87 million yen, of which 47 million yen represented exports. This trade is growing every year. Is it likely that Japan will sacrifice this as blithely as would an ignorant European nation which thinks no more of implanting the deadly virus of militarism in China than of taking Chinese territory? Japanese influence on China will tend towards maintaining

the integrity of that empire, and not towards the developing of it into a progressive and competing power.

Japan's progress along the path to commercial greatness has been rapid, but for good reasons it has been even and well maintained. A glance at figures shows how enormous this progress, made by means of scientific methods and careful system, has been. "Between 1882 and 1902 Asia advanced by over 16-fold in the value of Japanese exports, Europe by 400 per cent., America by about 600 per cent., Australia and others by over 335 per cent. In imports, the rate of increase between 1882 and 1902 was over 13½-fold for Asia, over 550 per cent. for Europe, and 1560 per cent. for America, and over 555 per cent. for Australia and others."

Japan's progress is such as to demonstrate that her methods are sound, and the Japanese may well be proud of their work, although success achieved will not slacken their efforts since they know that, in the words of a Japanese statesman, "they have not yet reached the full measure of their ambition, but look forward hopefully to the time when Japan will be the Emporium of the Orient, firmly bound to her neighbours, east and west, by the strong ties of mutual interest."

CHAPTER XI

PRESERVING AGRICULTURE

AN ancient Japanese saying runs, "Agriculture is the nursing mother of the State;" for two thousand years agriculture has been at least the occupation of the majority of the Japanese people. Japan has produced its own food for the nation, cared for by its own hands, and this independence from foreign supplies has undoubtedly tended to increase the national feeling of the Japanese. Under the feudal system the agriculturists ranked after the warriors, and at a time when all the taxes were paid in rice, agriculture necessarily occupied a high position. Japan owes much to her farmers, who enable her to be self-sufficient and self-contained. Although it was found necessary to develop the country into an industrial manufacturing nation, both in order to set the national finances upon a stable basis and that Japan might play the great *rôle* which is her destiny among the nations of the world, agriculture was not neglected. Rather was it nurtured the more, forming as it does a valuable national asset, when so much money was leaving the country to buy machinery necessitated by the developing of manufacturing industries, and the equipment obligatory for Japan's position in the front rank of military and naval nations. It would have been illogical if, while developing the great ideal of Japan for the Japanese, she had neglected her agriculture and ceased to be able to feed her own population. The national aspirations demanded that, however

important the manufactures became, the food-supply of the country should be able to cope with the increasing population. Not only could the agricultural output not go backward, it had to move forward with the nation's development. This national comprehension of the situation is very interesting when compared with the case of Great Britain, where manufacturing and industrial development was accompanied by a practical decline of agriculture. To-day Great Britain is fed by the outside world, but Japan is able to support herself. The cultivable area of Japan is comparatively small, and, owing to the natural conditions of the islands, large extension is not possible. Therefore the Japanese turned their attention to the improvement of farming methods, irrigation, and fertilization in order to ensure an increased output. One great advantage which Japan possesses, besides a beneficent climate, is the fact that the farms are worked in small sections by the small farmers and their families. This enables the greatest care to be paid to the crops, though, of course, it incurs the disadvantage of rendering impossible the use of labour-saving machinery. The farms being worked so largely by manual labour, it gives every opportunity for the national impulse to inspire individual effort among the 60 per cent. of the whole population employed in farming pursuits. The farmers of Japan recognize that they are working just as truly for the good of the nation as do those who fight her battles or direct her diplomacy. Agriculture produces yearly a very vital contribution to the wealth of the nation. But more important than the amount of the output is the fact that agriculture in Japan supplies the needs of the Japanese population, and ensures that in yet one more direction Japan shall be sufficient unto herself. The methods by which the Japanese Government has done this are so remarkable as to justify close study, but here only the principal points in the general scheme, which indicate the

broad lines followed, can be given. Japan has less than 19,000 square miles of arable land in all, and on this small area the Japanese farmers have built up the most remarkable and successful agricultural nation the world has ever known. How little space this is for the growing of necessary food for some 40 or 50 millions may be gathered from an American illustration. "Imagine," says the writer, "all the tillable acres of Japan as merged into one field. The centre perimeter of such a field could be skirted by a man in an automobile, travelling fifty miles an hour in the period of eleven hours!" Small wonder, then, that the agriculturists of Japan are entitled to rank amongst the best patriots of that patriotic people. In one of the Emperor's poems occurs a line in which he declares this tiller of his field is achieving for his nation equal glory with the soldier on the battle-field. It is in the spreading of the scientific and the latest methods of agriculture that the Japanese Government has been so successful, the farmers never lacking in enthusiasm. In the old times, the farmers had the duty of feeding the military classes; now they have the larger duty of feeding an entire nation, which has increased by over ten million persons since the Restoration.

If the methods employed by the Government appear to our eyes as rather too paternal, it must be remembered, first, that the relations between the governing classes and the governed have always been rather those of a family than those of master and servant, and, second, that since the Government is the representative of the people, and in part, at least, chosen by them, Government action is really only the action of the executive head of the whole nation. This seems to the Japanese people the most reasonable way of regarding the various aids rendered by the Government to the various branches of national life. No pride is hurt by accepting assistance when the money given is national funds raised from all those who pay

taxes. Whatever may be the abstract view of the Government policy, there can be no doubt that it has been crowned with most remarkable success, despite the fact that, though the population kept increasing at a very rapid rate, the land available for agriculture was not possible of extension. There remained, therefore, no other alternative but to increase the yield per acre. This could be done by scientific enriching and working of the soil, and also by so arranging the land available as to get the most possible space for actual crops instead of for paths, divisions, etc. The Japanese farmer tended his farm, with the assistance of his family, more as a workman who makes a fine *cloisonné* vase than as a European horny-handed son of the soil who pursues his labour at the tail of his plough. Everything was done with an exactitude, a minute attention to detail surprising to Western observers. Forty-five per cent. of the agricultural families in Japan cultivate less than 2 acres each; 30 per cent. cultivate 2 acres or more, up to a little less than $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres ($1\frac{1}{2}$ cho), leaving only 15 per cent. of farmers who cultivate farms of more than $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres. On an average, one man cares for something under an acre. Half the cultivable land is worked by owners, the rest being leased to tenant farmers. The farmer engages in subsidiary industries, notably those connected with agriculture, and thus adds to his small income. Despite a shortage of manure, owing to an absence of domestic animals, the farms have always been fertilized considerably, and from one to four crops are raised on the same fields in a year. All things being considered, it must have been difficult for the Government to see how improvement was to take place. The first attempt, after the Restoration, did fail, largely owing to the clamour of more or less irresponsible students for less paternalism. Only a short time of cessation of Government interest, however, was necessary to demonstrate the danger of letting matters drift, and in 1890-91 the Government resumed

the task, taking up all the threads dropped in 1888 and pushing forward with increased vigour. The Government felt all the greater assurance of successfully fulfilling the national duty, since for the ten years during which the management of affairs had been in the hands of private individuals it had signally failed. Since 1890 there has been no retrogression on the part of the central authorities. At first they had to undertake, to initiate everything themselves, but little by little they decentralized the system and placed local institutions under local authorities, and encouraged the farmers themselves to support educational centres. It was after the war with China in 1894-95 that the enormous potential value of agriculture was fully recognized. The budgets increased unceasingly, and every effort was turned in the direction of encouraging agriculture, since from this source alone could certain national riches be looked for in the future.

The encouragement of agriculture comes under the administration of the Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, except certain of the purely educational institutions which come under the Department of Education. It is, therefore, not out of place to see how the Department of Agriculture is arranged to produce the maximum of result. The Ministry deals with agriculture, commerce, industries, fisheries, forestry, mining, patents, trade marks, and geology. It includes the following bureaux: the section of agriculture, of commerce and industries, of forests, of mines, of patents, of fisheries, and of geological studies. The section of agriculture deals with agriculture, sericulture, tea industry, domestic animals, and game. The bureau of geological surveys deals with topography and analysis of earths, as well as with pure geology. The section of agriculture is composed of four bureaux. The first deals with administration, associations and guilds, rearrangement of farms, irrigation, agricultural instruction, and congresses. The second deals with the improvement of agricultural

products, the destruction of harmful insects, breaking up of new ground, improvement of the silks and tea industries, and the examination of silkworm eggs. The third bureau deals with the improvement in the breeding of domestic animals, the choice and inspection of breeding studs, and veterinary and blacksmith affairs. The fourth deals with the improvement of horses, the inspection of stallions, and supervision of stud farms and stables. From this general outline it is easily seen that the Department of Commerce and Agriculture is most comprehensive. With the exception of the Ministries of Finance and of the Army and Navy, it is by far the most efficiently organized Department.

The centre of the whole educational system—and the Japanese always base their schemes of improvement upon education—is the central experimental station, controlled by the Government. Much surprise has been occasioned in America by the discovery that Japan possesses nearly two hundred experimental institutions, as compared to the fifty-six scattered over the vast area of the United States. But still more important than the mere number is the excellence of the co-operation between the different educational factors. The Imperial Central Agricultural Experiment Station was originated in 1886 in a sort of unofficial manner, graduates from the Tokyo Agricultural College carrying out easy and simple experiments with the help of farmers. The results were sufficiently good to impress the farmers with the value of the aid of science in farming, especially in the choice of fertilizers and of seeds. In 1890, when the Government really began its campaign in earnest, the station was taken over entirely, and placed upon a sound basis by 1893. There were attached to it some four acres of land for experimental work. In 1893 six branch stations were established about the country, and in 1896 three more were added. These branch stations devoted their energies to practical experiments with a view

both of instructing the farmers and encouraging them to found similar stations in their own districts. Gradually more such stations were founded, and now nearly all the forty-two prefectures have each a station of their own, there being thirty-eight in all. The establishment of these was much expedited by the Government's decision to devote 150,000 yen annually to the encouragement of these and similar institutions. These local experimental stations are supported principally from the local revenues. The Central Station was able to devote itself more to purely experimental work after the decentralization had been effected, and in 1899 it divided its work into nine sections, agriculture, agricultural chemistry, entomology, vegetable pathology, tobacco culture, horticulture, stock-breeding, and report and general affairs. The results of the investigations carried on at this centre are put into practice at the local experiment stations, and if successful published in the reports. These reports are most exhaustive and valuable, and cover a very wide range of subjects. The idea of decentralization was carried yet another step further in 1903, when six of the branch stations controlled by the Central authorities were transferred to the prefectural authorities of the districts wherein they were situated, and now only three branch stations besides the Central Station remain under the control of the Central authorities. One is devoted to agricultural work, one to entomology and vegetable pathology, and one to stock breeding. The main and the branch stations all undertake the following work, viz. inspection of fertilizers, chemical analyses made at the request of the public, supervision of experiments entrusted to farmers, information given to inquiries of the public, lectures held at the request of the public, and researches on special agricultural problems.

Proceeding in gradually increasing circles of influence from the central station came the forty local agricultural experiment farms maintained by the prefectural offices,

and chiefly devoted to the work of practical application and model farming. These each cost about 10,000 yen annually, and obtain a certain amount of State aid. The sub-prefectural offices maintain other experimental stations, and there are also lesser stations for experiments established by towns or villages, or by a body of farmers' sons. In all, there are 110 such stations established in the sub-prefectural districts. Thus we see the whole gradation from the central authorities to the farmers' sons, all acting together for the improvement of agriculture and the fulfilment of their national duty. Connected with this idea, but not devoted purely to experimental work, are two other branches. These are, first, the five local agricultural institutes; and, second, the delivery of lectures on farming throughout the country. These are maintained from the local treasuries, and are subject to the supervision of the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. Their object is to give to farmers' sons and farming people generally some elementary knowledge on general principles of agriculture, surveying, meteorology, physics, chemistry, natural history, veterinary science, etc. These receive State aid, and turn out from thirty to several hundred graduates yearly. It would be difficult to overestimate the rôle which they will play in the future development of Japanese agriculture. The second and final branch is of great importance also, as there are no fewer than 310 travelling lecturers always employed in this work. By their lectures, their assistance and ability to answer questions, these lecturers do an immense amount of good work amongst the farmers, who might otherwise be untouched by the march of scientific learning. These various branches all seek to explain the theory in the morning which is to be put into practice in the evening.

Besides these means of disseminating agricultural knowledge, there are the Sapporo Agricultural College and the Agronomical Institute of the Imperial University at Tokyo. The former is a most efficient educational

institution, and it is no exaggeration to say that it would be difficult to find in the whole world its equal. Thirty-six schools, supported by the cities or prefectures, or by association for teaching agricultural theory and practice, exist throughout the land. There are also continuation classes, which enable the students leaving the primary schools to complete their education and fit themselves for agricultural work.

All these deal with agriculture pure and simple, but the Government also encourages other directly regulated industries. For instance, the Government carries on an experimental tea-farm, on which is a curing workshop, a laboratory for investigating the diseases of cattle and poultry, a cattle-breeding pasture with 76 cows and 27 bulls, for improving the native breeds of cattle for meat and dairy purposes, and two horse-breeding pastures and nine dépôts for promoting the introduction of better horses.

In connection with horse-breeding, at least two experts are dispatched abroad each year to purchase breeding horses. A small charge is made for the pairing of suitable mares belonging to private owners with the stallions of the State stud. In 1902 there were 397 stallions and 291 mares in the farms and dépôts. Sericulture, which is the chief subsidiary employment of the farmers, and after the rice crop the most important national resource, is also encouraged. Besides an official inspection of silkworm eggs, there is a silkworm diseases laboratory, established in 1884, and there are two special colleges at Tokyo and Kyoto.

Special courses for professional sericulturists are given, and 264 students have passed through them since 1901. Local sericulture institutes are encouraged, and the State Silk Conditioning House, for the examination of silk and the determination of its quality, has done much to keep the silk up to a high standard of excellence. In 1896

there were only 1236 applications for examination of silk, and in 1902 there were 67,665.

Perhaps even more remarkable than the direct aid granted by the Government to the farmer, as shown above, is the way in which the farmer is half forced, half encouraged to help himself. After all, it must be the farmer who makes the idea succeed or fail, and while the patriotism of the farmer may be undoubted, his predilection for the immediate adoption of scientific methods is another thing. The Japanese House of Representatives, the elected representatives of the people, passed a law outlining a reform, a change in the very appearance of Japan, which was welcomed by the country. This was nothing less than a law for the readjustment of farm lands and providing for the change of farm lots, so as to allow of the more regular arrangement of holdings. The irregular boundaries and pathways between the various properties were to be simplified, and in this way the amount of land under cultivation was to be increased. The small holdings of one farmer would often be scattered about in various parts of a locality, and the boundaries, picturesque in their irregularity, wasted an enormous amount of space. How revolutionary was the measure to change this may be gathered more clearly if one imagines a law being proposed in England to do away with the beautiful hedges, which are so distinctive an element of the landscape, and substitute split rail or wire fences to increase the arable space. In addition to this decreasing of boundary space, small fields are to be thrown together and exchanged, so that the entire property of one farmer's arable land may lie together. Soon after the Restoration the experiment was made in several prefectures, but it could not be systematized enough to ensure steady working except under the direct supervision of the Government. The increase in value of the land was so considerable, however, that the Government, to encourage the movement, decided that

such increase should be freed from taxation for the first five years, then later for thirty. However, there was great difficulty in obtaining unanimity amongst the various proprietors, often a very small minority blocking the way of reform. The Government, therefore, determined to enforce the law of adjustment in December, 1899. The main feature of this law was that it made it obligatory upon the minority of farmers in a certain district to consent to the adjustment when the majority was in favour, when three-fourths of the farming proprietors, or three-fourths of those who own more than two-thirds of the total area, or when those anxious for adjustment possess land of which the value is greater than two-thirds of the total value of the lands in the district—in all these cases the minority is forced to merge itself into the majority and the work of adjustment is proceeded with. In 1902 the work had been carried out in some three hundred places, and rearrangement of fields amounting to nearly 40,000 acres in area had been effected. The success of these initial adjustments ensured the feasibility of applying the law to all the fields in Japan, and gradually the surface of the country is being transformed. The Government also turned its attention to the question of irrigation, and took measures for the prevention of floods, which formerly deranged the whole system of irrigation by raising the level of the waters in the rivers. Protection of trees or creation of forests at the headwaters has done much to improve the even flow of the rivers, and farmers are made to organize themselves into irrigation guilds, and make all the required arrangements for the protection of their common interests.

The results of the land adjustment scheme also improve the irrigation channels by simplifying the system of drainage. The Minister of Agriculture Commerce thus sums up the principal benefits of this most important and far-reaching measure. He reports that—

1. Owing to the size of the lots being enlarged and their shape made regular, farm work is considerably expedited, and farm animals and labour-saving machinery can be more easily employed.

2. Owing to the farm boundaries or paths being straightened and those that are useless destroyed, the productive power of a given extent of land thus treated is increased at the average rate of 5 per cent.

3. Drainage and irrigation ways being reconstructed or constructed *ab initio*, both the drainage and irrigation systems can be brought to a state of greater perfection. As the disadvantage arising from an insufficiency of irrigation water, or from its excess, is done away with, the productive power of the farms is increased.

4. Farmers being encouraged to exchange their fields for fields owned by others, so as to collect as much as possible in one place the farms owned by one proprietor, all the evils and disadvantages incidental to the scattering of farms owned by one proprietor are done away with or minimized.

To the gain obtained in this way must be added the reclamation of forest or virgin land. This is especially great in the northern island of Hokkaido, where the population is less dense, and where the Government is encouraging the settling of the surplus population of other islands by offering them free land. Up to the end of 1902 no less than 725,000 acres had been reclaimed in the Hokkaido, an increase of 550,000 acres in ten years. In the Hokkaido Japan has a source of much agricultural resource, and the settling of this island is one of the means undertaken by the Government to provide for the increased demand for food supplies.

Intensive methods are universal in Japanese agriculture, and the authorities early began to educate the farmers as to the value of the scientific use of fertilizers. The soil of Japan is deficient in phosphates, and the only means up

till then available for the farmer to remedy the difficulty had been fish manure and night soil. One result of the improved facilities of transportation had been to increase the consumption of fresh fish, which reduced the amount available for manuring purposes. Thus the Government felt the necessity of ensuring that the fertilizers procured, as a result of the spread of scientific knowledge, should be such as would give the best results. In 1901 a law was put into force to control the manufacture of fertilizers. Under this head are included everything which increases the fertility of the soil. All those who manufacture or deal in fertilizers have to secure a prefectural authorization; they have to submit samples for analysis to the proper officers, and may never refuse a demand for examination of the goods. The punishments for adulterating fertilizers, or selling such, are very heavy, and run up to one year's imprisonment and a fine of 300 yen, besides the confiscation of the goods. The Government distributed throughout the country 116 fertilizer inspectors, and appointed twenty chemists in the State experimental farms to analyze the samples. In 1902, 3697 applications for analysis were received. These measures cost 109,729 yen and 38,597 yen annually respectively. The result of this has been that the fertilizers employed in Japan are of very high and very uniform quality. Chinese bean cake was imported, special encouragements being offered, and the Government also took measures to improve the fishery industry. The State and local aid to this industry rose from 1531 yen in 1887 to 360,043 yen in 1902. By this latter year there existed 123 experimental laboratories and training schools for imparting fishery knowledge, which cost 667,091 yen. There is also a Government fishery training school. Of the yearly fish catch, which is valued at about 60,000,000 yen, not quite 8,000,000 yen worth is used for fish fertilizers. But the industry is quite worthy of encouragement from the point of view of the importance

of fish as an article of diet in the country. Besides the fresh fish consumed, nearly 21,000,000 yen worth of manufactured fish products are utilized as food in Japan, while 8,000,000 yen worth is exported. It would be wrong to underrate the value of the fish of the Japanese seas when considering the food resources of the empire. The Japanese insistence upon the cession of Sakhalin and fishing rights on the shores of the Ussuri province testify to the value placed upon the fisheries by the Government. It may be said that nothing is neglected that may benefit the national food supply, even the protection of wild birds being undertaken, because "wild birds have an important relation to farming and also to forest planting." Regulations have been issued for the co-operative destruction of injurious insects and the prevention of the spread of diseases amongst animals. It is the duty of the local authorities to supply full reports of any outbreak or threatening thereof to the central authority, so that adequate measures may at once be undertaken. Similar precautions have been taken with regard to tuberculosis in imported cattle—the native cattle seem immune—and two hundred qualified inspectors were secured soon after the danger had been observed.

Agricultural societies abound in Japan, and these receive nearly 150,000 yen annually by State aid. They are formed by the farmers and landowners freely, and are run by members elected by the subscribers together with experts. Since these societies form the link between the Government and the farmers, it was thought necessary to have a certain amount of State control. This is secured by granting State aid only to those societies formed according to the special laws. This step was also taken to prevent the societies from taking on a political basis. There are at present 46 prefectural agricultural societies, 561 subordinate societies in cities or rural districts, and over 10,000 in towns and villages. The object of these societies is to develop agriculture by the following means :—

1. Meetings, congresses, exhibitions, sale of seeds and plants, agricultural museum and handicraft conferences.
2. Reports, lectures, and analyses.
3. Distribution and exchange of seeds, of fertilizers, of agricultural machines and breeding animals.
4. Preventive and destructive measures against pests.
5. Drainage and irrigation, and the adjustment of lands.
6. Encouragement and preparatory work.
7. Agricultural and industrial output.
8. Agricultural statistics.
9. Replying to the official questions.
10. The question of improvement and development.

Under certain conditions the local authority has the power, by law, of making the minority of farmers or land-owners in a certain district join a society formed by the majority. This, however, is only when there is felt to be need of unanimous endeavour in that locality.

The capital at the disposal of the farmers being small, the Government has founded a system of hypothec banks, joint and stock companies, whose object is to advance money at a reasonable rate of interest for the development of agricultural industries. The Government control enables the Minister of Finance to fix the rate of interest chargeable. In the preamble of the law relating to the Japan Hypothec Bank the nature of the work is plainly set forth. "It admits of no doubt," the preamble runs, "that the comparative lack of development of our agriculture is mainly attributable to absence of proper facilities for supplying funds on the security of real estate. Now, in order to carry to greater prosperity the agriculture of our country, and to promote its productive capacity, there are many things to be undertaken, these being the reclamation of new land, the control of rivers, planting of woods, providing of better facilities of irrigation or drainage, improvement of the mode of tillage, supply of cheap

fertilizers, and sundry other things. But these improvements cannot from their very nature yield returns until after the lapse of ten or a score of years, so that funds which in trade can yield returns in a very short space of time are entirely out of place in undertakings connected with farming. The funds advanced to farmers must be of longer term and at cheaper rates." The chief lines of business transacted by the bank are as follows :—

"To make loans on the security of immovable property, redeemable in annual instalments within a period of not more than fifty years ; to make loans on a similar security, redeemable at a fixed term within a period of not more than five years, provided the total amount of such loans does not exceed one-tenth of the total amount of loans redeemable in annual instalments (the amounts of loans made on the security of any immovable property may not exceed two-thirds of the value thereof, as appraised by the bank) ; to make loans without security to prefectures, districts, cities, towns, and other public bodies organized by law ; to take up the mortgage debentures of agricultural and industrial banks ; to accept the custody of gold and silver bullion and negotiate instruments. The bank is authorized, when at least one-fourth of its nominal capital is paid up, to issue mortgage debentures up to an amount not exceeding ten times its paid-up capital, provided the amount of such debentures does not exceed the total amount of outstanding loans redeemable in annual instalments and the debentures of agricultural and industrial banks in hand. These debentures shall be redeemed at least twice a year by means of drawings in proportion to the total amount of redemption of loans redeemable in annual instalments in the same year, and the debentures of agricultural and industrial banks in hand. Besides, for each issue of debentures, premiums of various amounts, varying from 10 to 1000 yen, are allotted to a certain number of the debentures

determined by drawings. This is the single exception to the general prohibition of lottery or any lottery-like system, specially allowed to the Hypothec Bank, in order to attract smaller capitals to the subscription of its debentures."

The work of the Japanese hypothec banks is mostly on a large scale, the lesser sums being advanced by the local hypothec banks, which are established in each of the administrative localities, with a minimum capital of 200,000 yen. They are permitted to make loans only for the following purposes: (1) Reclamation of land, irrigation, drainage, and improvement of the fertility of the soil; (2) construction and improvement of farm roads; (3) settlement in newly reclaimed places; (4) purchase of seeds, young plants, manure, and other materials required in agriculture and industry; (5) purchase of implements and machines, boats, waggons, or beasts for use in farming and manufacture; (6) construction or repair of buildings for use in farming and manufacture; (7) improvements in farming and manufacture not included in the foregoing clauses; (8) rearrangement of farm boundaries; (9) undertakings by credit guilds, purchase guilds, and produce guilds of unlimited liability, and organized under the industrial guilds law.

"Loans are made on the security of immovable property redeemable in annual instalments within a period of not more than thirty years; to make loans on a similar security, redeemable in a fixed term within a period of not more than five years, provided the total amount of such loans does not exceed one-fifth of the total amount of loans redeemable in annual instalments (loans made on the security of any immovable property may not exceed two-thirds of the value thereof, as appraised by the bank); to make loans on the same conditions without security to cities, towns, villages, and other public bodies organized by law; to make loans without security, redeemable in a

fixed term within a period of not more than five years, to more than twenty persons combined with joint liability, who are engaged in agriculture or industry, and whose reliability is recognized ; to receive fixed deposits, and accept the custody of gold and silver bullion and negotiable instruments. Besides, the banks may be entrusted with the receipt and disbursement of the public funds of prefectures."

Finally, there are the credit guilds, which are organizations formed by the farmers themselves, and which are regulated by a special law relating to industrial guilds. The idea is to encourage the small farmers and small manufacturers (often the same), and when the guilds are organized along prescribed lines they are entitled to receive loans from the local hypothec banks without security. The guilds lend funds to the farmers at a low rate of interest and agricultural machines. There are over three hundred such guilds scattered about the country, which supply money to their members at about 10 per cent., even in localities where the banks charge from 20 to 40 per cent. The value of these credit guilds, in helping even the smallest farmers to obtain advances upon easy terms, is enormous as a means of advancing the rapid development of agriculture.

All these means of encouraging the agriculture of Japan also encourage the many subsidiary employments in which the farmers engage. This they do, although in over 30 per cent. of the arable land two crops yearly are produced, and in the south as many as four crops are raised. These generally are rice and barley in the one case, and barley, indigo, beans, and rape in the other, with, of course, variations. It is hoped that a much larger proportion of cultivated land may be brought up to the two-crop standard in the future by means of scientific fertilization and methods of tillage. The subsidiary industries include the following: The manufacture of

starch, *konnyaki*, *somen* (kind of macaroni), frozen buckwheat macaroni, frozen *mochi*, frozen *tofu*, frozen *konnyaku*, jam, dried persimmon fruits, dried peels of gourd, dried radish peel, etc. The manufacture of mat-facing, straw-plaids, mats used for rearing silkworms, matches, cords, nets, willow baskets, rush headgear, straw raincoats, headgear made of hasks of bamboo sprouts, coir-ropes, straw ropes, charcoal bags, straw hats, etc. Weaving of fabrics, spinning of yarns, manufacture of silk, paper, and various kinds of basket work. Extraction of oil, agriculture, salt-making, charcoal burning, lime-making, camphor refining, etc.

Already Japanese agriculture shows the effects of the organized and continuous efforts of the Government. In 1904 the rice crop was 10·5 per cent. higher than that of the preceding year, and 21·5 per cent. higher than the average annual crop. While in part this was due to the favourable weather, it owed much to the improvement of agricultural methods. The crop amounted to 51,401,997 koku, the mean crop being 40,249,586. The yield is very much higher than it was early in the new era. In 1877 it was 26,599,181 koku; in 1887, 39,999,199; in 1897, 33,039,293; and in 1901, 46,914,943 koku. The area under rice had also increased from 2,128,311 cho in 1877 to 2,847,505 cho in 1901. Besides rice, the dry grain, such as wheat, barley, etc., have increased still more considerably. In 1877 there was 1,147,769 cho devoted to them, which produced 9,620,800 koku; in 1901 there were 1,816,722 cho, producing 20,629,384 koku. In 1904 the crop reached 19,642,242 koku.*

Much has been accomplished, but there is no indication that the Japanese are slackening their efforts. That there is still field for further development may be gathered from the following extract from the *Japan Times*: "We are assured," says the paper, "by Mr. Sako, the Director of

* 1 koku = 4·96 bushels.

the Bureau of Agriculture, than whom there is not a better authority on matters relating to Japanese agriculture, that the total area of waste lands which may be reclaimed with profit is over 9,000,000 cho (22,500,000 acres). Now, this is larger than the area actually under cultivation by as much as 4,000,000 cho. How much of the lands awaiting reclamation can be turned into rice fields, Mr. Sako does not say. He is, however, convinced that a considerable portion of the new lands will be available for rice cultivation, the rest being fit for wheat, barley, and other cereals and vegetables of nearly all kinds. There is another important point to which attention must be directed in considering the possible expansion of the country's food-supplying capacity. We refer to the improvement of the existing rice fields. The improvements—consisting principally in better drainage and re-arrangement of farm boundaries—thus far carried out in a few localities have invariably been crowned with success. According to the Director of the Bureau of Agriculture, the lands thus improved have in some cases risen in market value by as much as 50 per cent. In his opinion, three-fifths of the total area of the existing rice fields will admit of being improved in this way. The total area of the rice paddies being 2,800,000 cho, the improvable area will thus be 1,700,000 cho. It seems permissible to estimate that in the event of the whole of the last-mentioned area being improved, the total yield of rice will be increased by at least 20 per cent. In view of these circumstances, it is easy to see that Japan is capable of supporting many more millions of people by the produce from her own soil, exactly how many it is difficult to say, but it is probable that the ultimate limit may be not much under double the present population."

As has been shown, much reclamation work has been already done, and steady progress is being made. The idea of supporting some eighty millions of people in a

limited area like Japan is a truly remarkable one, which seems all the more wonderful when it is remembered that the ratio of the area of cultivated land to the total area is lower than in any other country. At present, industries have been promoted, trade has been built up, a merchant marine has been created, and notwithstanding all these preoccupations, national endeavour, patriotically stimulated, has so laboured as to enable a progress instead of a decline to be shown in agriculture. As yet the development is only in its infancy ; the solid foundation of education, the permanent construction of scientific methods, both ensure that the patriotic impulse of the whole people shall not be wasted because of a lack of adequate tools. The future of Japan is based primarily, not upon her army and navy, but upon her millions of farmers, toiling day and night, year in and year out, to relieve the nation of anxiety as to its ability to support its own existence. To these and the industries which they have rendered possible, Japan owes more than to her martial and brilliant successes in the field of battle.

CHAPTER XII

SOCIALISM AND THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

EX ORIENTE LUX has proved to be the case in so many instances, and Japan has shown to the world such perfection of army, navy, and organization, that one may be pardoned in thinking that perhaps there is also a new socialism of an improved variety contained in the island empire. How has the intense and practical patriotism, the dominant nationalism of the Japanese people, affected the cause of socialism? That is a question, the answer to which may well be fraught with lessons for the world. It must not be forgotten in considering the question that there is a vast difference between conditions in Japan and the same conditions existent with us. In Japan the relations between the lower and upper classes of society have always been rather those of a family than of a business nature. There is a great deal of socialism, of communal ideas, inherent in the Japanese nation. There is little of the absolute poverty of the West, largely owing to the family and national sentiment prevailing. Members of families, of clans or of districts, help each other when in distress, and therefore the chances of absolute destitution, calling for State relief, are much diminished. Until comparatively recently there was no such an institution as an almshouse, nor was there any need for such. This condition of things must always be remembered when the state of the people of Japan is being considered.

In local affairs the Japanese people have practical autonomy, and are able to manage their own internal affairs without too much interference from the central Government. It is remarkable to find so much local freedom in a country where a feudal system has existed so short a time ago. But even under the feudal system there was none of that absolute crushing out of the national liberty which has accompanied so many cases of feudal domination. Trial by jury existed in Japan as long ago as 1232 A.D., and the oath taken by the twelve judges was most remarkable when compared to the high-handed justice prevalent in other lands at the same period.

The national sentiment, fostered by a very well-developed system of family organizations, tendered naturally toward the development of ability to manage their own local affairs. In this light, local autonomy becomes simply an extended form of family and clan self-government. The local governing bodies were comparatively free before the promulgation of the Constitution, and therefore it would be wrong to date the liberty of the Japanese people from that time. The nation gains much by trusting itself to govern its own local affairs, and it would be a serious omission were no attention to be paid to this side of Japanese life. The assistance given to national impulse by local autonomy is immense, and that it is no mere formal, nominal liberty has been proved by the ability of local governments to successfully oppose the governors appointed by the central Government.

The idea of modern socialism is not objected to; in fact, the idea recommends itself to many of the thinking Japanese. But just as everything else has been altered and adapted before obtaining full acceptance by the people, so socialism in Japan is likely to develop along lines vastly different to those followed in other lands. Japanese socialism will have less of the destructive, and more of the improving, idea as its base. The objection which has

been taken to the socialism as introduced from America, brand new, with all the worst elements predominating, is that it was subversive of public order, and interfered with the national policy.

In 1903 the *Japan Times*, a paper which largely finds its inspiration in Marquis Ito, wrote on the subject of socialism as follows: "With all this apparent practical vitality, we may safely state that socialism is in this country still in the stage of academic discussion, and that the day when it will assume practical significance is as yet, if such a day is ever to come, in the far distant future. So far as the mass of the people are concerned, they show as yet no sign of fundamental discontent with present social order. This is so, not because they are less intelligent than people of the same class in the Occident, but because the conditions of life amongst us are such that there is little occasion for them to wish for any radical change in the social constitution. Happily or unhappily, according to the way in which the matter is looked at, the struggle for existence here has none of that sharp unfeeling intensity which is calculated to engender in the West a deep and sullen hostility to the present order of things. Society here has for centuries been constructed on principles fundamentally different from those obtaining in the West. Our society is more communistic in its character than theirs, and we are more forbearing with and helpful to each other than the European peoples. It is true that, since the introduction of Occidental civilization, great changes are taking place in our conditions of life, but amidst all these changes the fundamental characteristic of our social organization still remains intact, and is not likely to be fully effaced, although it will probably be modified more or less owing to the new influences at work."

This quotation gives very fairly the Government attitude towards socialism, although at times it has seemed as if individual ministers have been oppressed by a socialistic

peril nightmare, and have attempted repressive measures. But the Government and the great statesmen of Japan consider that, while the character of the country is undergoing a great change and becoming industrial instead of agricultural, it is no time to lay down hard-and-fast rules with regard to labour or labour organization. It will be possible to inaugurate suitable and permanent measures when the industrial system is more completely arranged. It is probable also that many of the more conservative statesmen fear that premature labour disturbances would unnecessarily retard the progress of the country. That they are blind to the evil of some of the existing conditions is possible, but that they are preparing to cope with others has also been shown by several of their recent actions. The idea of socialism is no new one in Japan, and the various trades guilds have certainly accustomed the Government to the idea of union among labourers. It is rather the modern form of labour union which has too often a strike as its sole apparent objective that the Japanese Government objects to. To prevent these unions from becoming too powerful, a police regulation was put in force in 1900, under which the following points were treated. (The quotation is from the *Labour World*.) "The law provides clauses that will enable the police authorities to stop, to punish, and to fine working men who speak or agitate for wages and hours of labour. . . . Working men hereafter will be completely under the mercy of the employers; they cannot ask for higher wages or shorter hours without violating the law. There will be no room left for working men to organize themselves into a union, because the law forbids, with a threat of severe punishment of fine or hard labour, labour agitation of any form whatever. With this tyrannical law the police authority punish every strike, disregardless of the cause or grievance." This police regulation turned the thoughts of those who were anxious to start labour unions into different channels, as shown in

the following quotations: "There is, however, one thing left the working man to do with some hope, and that is to work for the immediate repeal of the law in the next session of the Diet. To do this effectually is to carry the battle into the enemy's camp by changing the labour agitation into a political agitation. The law gives to the people greater freedom in political activity to hold political meetings and to form political associations. Thus, we cannot fight against oppression and tyranny of employers in the economic field; that is, we cannot hereafter claim our industrial rights under the banner of trades' unionism, but we can and must secure our inborn rights and heritage under the red flag of labour politics—that is, Socialism." This decision to adopt the political path for the accomplishment of their aim has remained the permanent one on the mind of the Socialists. It is also one to which the Socialists of the West are tending. In 1903 an article in the *Socialist*, which was the *Labour World* under a new name, says—

"There is one path by which our workers can advance, and that is the political one. . . . We can hold political meetings and form associations freely. This freedom is guaranteed by the Imperial Constitution, although it is sometimes compressed or dissolved by the police. On the whole, we have secured already political freedom. It is true that we, the workers, have yet no right to vote, and perhaps that was the very reason why the police law has come to take the place of the association law, which was very strict on political agitation of the people. But all the same, we can agitate for the working classes by politics, viz. Socialism."

This adoption of a political line was not unwelcome to the Government, who saw in it much less disturbance to the economic development of the country than by the formation of labour unions. It must always be remembered also that, by the very nature of things, the Government

has never had any animus against social organizations as such. It is only as disturbing factors in national progress that they are combated, and that really because they are in advance of the national situation. And the Socialists themselves must confess that there has been considerable progress made since Mr. Katayama inaugurated the modern movement in June, 1897. Before then it may be said that there was nothing of the kind in existence save the trade guilds. But these guilds did not advocate nearly such violent measures as the labour unions which came into existence after the first meeting in June, 1897. Generally speaking, it may be said that the modern movement owes its origin to one man, Mr. Katayama, who, educated in America, there imbibed the very strongest essence of labour unionism. The secretary of the Ironworkers' Union and the editor of the newspaper of the Socialist movement, there is no doubt that Mr. Katayama will take his place in Parliament to prosecute his life-work. Several strikes have been effectually carried out under his guidance, but only in those trades where skilled labour is demanded. For unskilled or partly skilled labour, the increase annually of about 500,000 of population provides a far greater supply than can be used. Thus, labour unions would be very limited, even were it legal to constitute them. Mr. Katayama himself confesses that he has met with enormous difficulties even in his own labour union in securing the consistent co-operation of the men.

Although the movement began in the years following the war with China, it was not until April 30, 1901, that a great labour demonstration was held. Curiously enough, it owed its origin to the enterprise of one of the yellow newspapers of Tokyo, the *Niroku Shimpō*. There is considerable doubt as to the disinterestedness of the newspaper, which utilized the opportunity to push its circulation. The police limited the numbers at the meeting to five thousand people, although some thirty thousand tickets had been

distributed. A socialistic meeting which was to be held at the great assembly was suppressed altogether. This action on the part of the police called forth the condemnation of the *Japan Times*, which said: "It is suggested that the police interfered with the *Niroku's* project because they had reason to suspect the promoters of socialistic aims. This suggestion has an air of probability in view of the preponderance of avowed Socialists among those who were to speak at the lecture meeting, which the disappointed projectors of the labour meeting proposed to hold afterwards, and which was also suppressed by the police. If this explanation be trustworthy, we should think that the police were extremely ill-advised in interfering with the carrying out of the *Niroku's* labour gathering and lecture meeting." Notwithstanding the previous police action, some twenty thousand men assembled and carried out the labour demonstration in the presence of one thousand police. That this was permitted would seem to disprove the idea that the authorities were anxious to prevent the meeting taking place. The following resolution was carried, and forms the first public programme of the labour party in Japan. The meeting closed with three cheers for the Emperor, which were most heartily given, because before everything the Japanese working man is patriotic and loyal.

The resolution ran as follows:—

"We, the working people, the citizens of the Japanese empire, guided by Almighty Power and his truth, and under the auspicious rule of His Majesty the Emperor this day, this month in the working men's grand social meeting, decide with a sincerity of our heart and purpose on the following subjects—

"Resolved that—

"1. The Government, in order to protect the right and interests of working classes, shall effect the making of proper labour laws.

"2. The Government shall make an effective regulation that will fully protect child and female workers.

"3. In order to develop our industry, we recognize the urgent necessity of carrying on a thorough education for working classes.

"4. We believe that in order to protect our own interests we must secure political rights and the right of voting on the Parliamentary election.

"5. The third of April every year shall be the appointed day for the Japanese Working Men's Grand Social Meeting."

The above resolutions were voted unanimously.

On May 29th of the same year, a social democratic party, called the Shakwai Minshu-to, was organized, but it was suppressed by the Government. This did not prevent a second party, called the Shakwai Heimin, from being organized on June 3rd. This was also suppressed, and Mr. Katayama was tried for having published the manifesto of the party. His acquittal enabled a third and more stable party to be formed on the lines of the second party. Later, in 1902, the Government decided that labour orations should come under the category of political speeches.

Since it is from the Social Democratic Party that the future of socialism in Japan is to be looked for, it is as well to note what is their programme and aspirations. "Our party was born for the interest of the vast number of these people. It strives to get a victory for the principle of peace in the whole world by destroying the difference between rich and poor by the pure democratic and socialistic principle, and to advance towards the following ideals :—

"1. No matter what difference in races or governments there might be, it is to propagate and enlarge the principle that humanity is of all brotherhood.

"2. To abolish the army and navy in order to bring forth international peace.

"3. To abolish the system of caste entirely.

"4. To abolish the public ownership of land and capital that are necessary as productive means.

"5. To abolish the public ownership of means of transportation, such as bridges, canals, ships, and railways.

"6. To secure an impartial and equitable distribution of wealth.

"7. To let the nation have political right equally.

"8. The nation should bear entire expenses of education so that the people may receive education equally.

"The above are ideals of our party, yet there is no need of discussing the difficulty of carrying them into practice to-day. Therefore our party deliberating upon the following platform shall attempt to realize by its practical movement :—

"1. The public ownership of the railways of the entire nation.

"2. The municipal ownership of gas, electricity, city railways, and all others that are characterized as monopoly.

"3. To prohibit to sell any land publicly owned either by the central government or any other local public corporation, namely, village, town, city, or prefecture.

"4. To start a movement for the municipal ownership of all the land within the city areas. In the case if this cannot be accomplished at once, a law shall be enacted to prohibit buying up and annexing city lots unlimitedly by any private persons.

"5. Patent right should be purchased by the Government, in order that there shall be given to an inventor a fair compensation, and at the same time let the people use articles of invention cheap.

"6. There should be enacted a law to the effect that house rent shall be charged not more than a fixed percentage of the value of a house.

"7. The governmental works should all be undertaken by the Government itself, and all the contract system shall

be abolished. It shall never be given to either an individual person or private company.

"8. Indirect taxes like those on *soy*, *sake*, and sugar shall be abolished, and in their place the inheritance taxes, income taxes, and direct taxes shall be raised.

"9. The age of obligatory education should be raised as far up as when a child completes the higher grammar school. Fees should be abolished entirely. And textbooks should be given to children at the public expense.

"10. Establishing a labour bureau, let everything be investigated concerning the matter of labour.

"11. To prohibit to employ children of the school age.

"12. To prohibit to employ women in the work that is detrimental to their health and morale.

"13. To forbid night-work of girls and youths.

"14. Abolishing the Sunday labour, and the daily labour should be limited to eight hours.

"15. An employer's liability act should be enacted, so that any working man who injures himself while on his duty be provided fairly by the employer.

"16. There shall be enacted a trades-union law, and it should be recognized publicly that working men could organize themselves freely. And to make a proper provision for their protection.

"17. To enact a law of protecting tenant farmers.

"18. The public ownership of all insurance business.

"19. Judicial expenses should be entirely borne by the Government.

"20. Universal suffrage should be carried into practice.

"21. To adopt the system of the proportional representation.

"22. The voting shall entirely be direct and open.

"23. On the subject of national importance the referendum shall be applied.

"24. To abolish the capital punishment entirely.

"25. To abolish the House of Peers.

- "26. The army shall be gradually lessened.
- "27. The existing police laws shall be repealed.
- "28. The press regulations shall be repealed."

The manifesto distinctly deprecates armed violence in pushing forward the aims of the party. "Although our views are quite radical and progressive, yet we will never follow those whose foolishness leads them to employ physical force. We shall attempt to reconstruct our society from its very foundation by the use of our sharp and penetrating pen and tongue."

In April, 1903, there was held a Socialist Congress at Osaka, which was only moderately successful, and at which the following resolution was passed :—

"1. We, the Socialists of Japan, shall exert ourselves to reconstruct the human society with socialism.

"2. We must endeavour to realize socialism in Japan.

"3. To reach the ultimate end of socialism, it is necessary to have a united action of the Socialists of all the countries."

The movement has gained really far more by the repressive measures of some sections of the Government than by its own propaganda. The position of the authorities is, it must be confessed, very difficult indeed. They are determined not to deal with the question of labour regulations until they consider the time ripe, and their temporary measures enacted to stave off any crisis are neither too well advised nor too well received. But that the matter will be settled satisfactorily is certain, and there are many indications that the most prominent Socialists will be asked to work out the scheme for adoption. When there was some talk of the appointment of a special Commissioner of Labour, the name of Mr. Katayama was more frequently mentioned in Government circles than any other. The factory legislation proposed by the Government met with but scant welcome, but that has only made the authorities anxious to prepare a measure

more suitable to the needs of the case. In short, the Government's attitude, even in its most repressive moments, is dictated rather by reluctance to attack the question prematurely than by an obstinate determination to crush all idea of socialism. That their measures seem hard to the Socialists is undoubted, as may be seen from the following remarks in the Socialist paper for June 12, 1904:—

“When one thinks that there are not more than two hundred professed Socialists in Japan, it seems strange that the Government is nervous over their propagandism. This paper was threatened with suppression, and one of the editors is now in prison. If Socialists were reckless enough to resort to violent actions, it would be quite proper for the Government to use police force for the sake of social peace, but not one accusation of this kind can be brought against them. Are they not denouncing war all the time, because they believe that no violent action is justifiable at any time? We may say, without much exaggeration, that all Japanese Socialists are peace-lovers in the extreme sense, and they are exactly the people for whom no police authority is required. Publicity is our motto, and nothing is kept secret among us. If the Government were to persecute us by using proper methods we would not be severe in our criticism, but unjust and dishonourable means have been used to disgrace our name, and we cannot let it pass unnoticed.”

It must, however, be confessed that the methods of the Socialists themselves have not been above reproach. The columns of their newspapers show that they apparently imagine that the most efficient means of promoting socialism and peace is by vilifying the private lives of the great statesmen and business men of their country. Even supposing for the sake of argument that there was reason for criticism, it is neither dignified nor really helpful for the Socialists to rake up the garbage heaps of

the nation's leaders and wash the nation's dirty linen in public. That such calumnies as appear are allowed speaks wonders for the freedom of the Press in Japan, and nobody could object to the punishment of those who abuse such liberty. Undoubtedly, also, the Socialist movement received a set back by the fact that during the early stages of the war the *Niroku Shimpō*, their early champion, was suppressed for treason, and the editor, who was also a member of the Diet, impeached. But that the Government has any decided objections to socialistic ideas in themselves is not true. Japan presents the paradox of being at one and the same time the most communistic of nations and a modified absolute empire. It has solved the problem of preserving the rights of the people and of the sovereign. There are even at the present moment in existence several socialistic communities within the empire. These are recognized and are not interfered with. So interesting are these communities that a somewhat detailed account of the conditions there is of value to give guidance and instruction to those anxious for the age of practical socialism. It must, however, not be forgotten that these communities are outside the busy world of industrial development, and that therefore it does not necessarily follow that methods which succeed in them would do equally well elsewhere. The fact of the existence of these communities is a convincing proof that the ideas of socialism must have been known in Japan long before Mr. Katayama and his fellows began their propaganda campaign. The following account of the most important of one of these communities is from his pen: "We can show a most convincing proof of socialism fully and actually in force for centuries in a land once a kingdom and now one of the prefectures of our empire. This prefecture is Okinawa, formerly the kingdom of Riukiu. Riukiu comprises thirty-six islands, with 170 square miles and 170,000 people. Here in these islands we have a complete and

well-developed socialism that has had long practice. The peace-loving islanders have been living under the system of socialism undisturbed for several centuries. They have their own land system ; one that may surprise the world in this age of competition and greed. It has been a long and time-honoured institution with these people that every eleventh year, in some cases thirteenth or seventeenth year, the whole land is divided equally into as many as there are able-bodied persons in the community. During this term each is obliged to pay nothing but a tax imposed upon him for the section of the land allotted to him. Besides these allotments the community owns a large tract of land as common land, where they plant banana trees. These plants are cultivated and preserved carefully to feed all the people on them in time of famine. Thus these islanders are assured of their means of subsistence as long as they are willing to cultivate their allotted piece of land. The taxes on the land are very light, and they are secure of attacks from greedy capitalists or landlords. There is no landlord in the whole of the islands. No one owns the land, but every one is entitled to get an allotment and live on the fruits of his own labour. There is no anxiety for him to increase his portion by acquirement or by intrigue or by purchase, as is so common a fact and a miserable burden in the so-called civilized communities. They do not own land, therefore they cannot mortgage or sell the land which they cultivate, but they are fully assured of possessing the results of their own labour. Thus every one owns his own income, which is the result of his own work. Private property is not in the land, but in the income from the land ; there is no rent because there is no landlord, and there is no capitalist who may squeeze and exploit the poor, because there are no poor in the whole community. Every one can live by his own labour because he owns a piece of land to cultivate so long as he is a member of the community. They have not lost

individuality or independence, but maintain fully their own personality. The very absence of poor in the whole island is the strongest argument in favour of socialism. There are no poor there, and at the same time there are no rich, because private property consists of income only. It is said that the richest in the island is no wealthier than 200,000 yen (£20,000). In spite of some attempts to encroach upon their institutions, so far the people have been able to maintain the land system. They are opposed to change, lest the happiest and best form of socialism should be done away with within a few years. But be this as it may, it is the undeniable fact that there has existed for centuries the workability of socialism."

A similar land system was in existence on the mainland in the province of Ibaraki, and it was only a few years ago that the last relic of this system was abolished.

Another community has been in existence for over three hundred years on a little island named Hatsushima, off the coast of Atami, only a few hours from Tokyo. The length of the island is not quite two miles, and the width one mile. The climate is warm and soft like that of San Francisco. Tradition has it that the island was settled by an old bishop, who was a very Solon to the people of this little socialist republic. All the property is owned in common, and is worked and enjoyed in common. There is neither competition nor strife. There exists no enmity or jealousy. All are brothers and sisters, and live in perfect equality, liberty, and fraternity. What Plato, ancient Christians, and French revolutionists dreamt, but did not realize, these peaceful islanders have enjoyed for centuries. There are no rich as there never were poor among them. There exists no private property, and no one owns any property, but at the same time all of them equally possess property. The whole income or results of their toil together belongs to all with what nature confers on them. Under the constitution of this socialist island there should not

be more than forty-one houses, however the population may increase. They make a perfect world by themselves ; they do not emigrate or allow others to immigrate to the island. There is no rice field in the island. They can raise potatoes and millet and other grains that grow on dry land with rich vegetables. There are some eighty acres of cultivated land, divided into equal portions of forty-one pieces. The production is consumed almost according to the individual needs. What surplus they get is exported from the island, and rice is imported in return, which is equally allotted to each on the first day of the new year, on the 15th of July, the universal commemoration for their ancestral spirits, and on some other great occasions like marriages, births, and deaths, or some festivals. The rice thus obtained as the results of toil is stored away in the common granary. The islanders are all fishermen, and they own eleven fishing-boats in common. From this source they get sea products worth 3000 yen every year. The sum is equally divided between forty-one homes without the least discrimination. These islanders do not own any property or capital privately or individually that is used for productive purposes, and yet each owns property of income equally. When any of the forty-one homes meets with misfortune and suffers from it, then it is treated with special favour by the island inhabitants. The home, under special action by the authority of the island, is charged with the duty of taking care of a store, which yields a good profit to the person managing it, until the time of scarcity has passed. Then this position is given to some other. There are two stores owned by the people ; one is for the sale of liquor, and the other for coarse wares of all sorts. There is a grammar school, and a teacher is invited from Amishiro, the nearest village opposite the coast. They cannot pay any salary to speak of, but they give rice from the common granary and cloths that are woven by girls of the island in turn.

A third socialist community is also found near Tokyo, on the mainland, in a little cove, which is in regular communication with Tokyo by steamer. The villagers are partly fishermen and partly farmers, comprising 300 and 580 families respectively.

The village has made much development on a socialist plan. It owns in common large hilly slopes of land that are suitable for forests and pasturage, while it has some 100,000 yen worth of common property. Some eleven years ago the village planted trees on hill-slopes over 170 acres. It is estimated that in fifty years these will bring a sum of 2,000,000 yen, which, of course, will be made a common fund of the village. The village is about to open up another hill-slope, covering over 1770 acres, for pasturage and forests. To do this common work the village levies imposts on villagers, and there is some income from sea-weed collecting. The weed is regarded as the village property. This work is carried on by village women, and amounts in value to 20,000 yen a year. The workers are paid according to their work. Some women earn two yen a day. When paid all wages and other sundry expenses, the net profits are used, partly for school expenses, and a half of the rest deposited in the bank and the other half applied to the reclamation of land. To some villagers, whose business is deemed a worthy one, the village may advance funds without interest. In some misfortunes the villagers help each other financially. The village is much interested in the education of children. A few years ago the village built a new schoolhouse, costing 20,000 yen, which is considered to be the best in the whole prefecture. There are 820 pupils attending the school; there is only one boy and eight girls of school age who do not attend in the entire village, and these children have reasonable excuse. The school encourages thrift among children, and a sum of some 7000 yen has been saved by them already. Moreover, the children have planted trees

on ten acres of land belonging to the school. There is a splendid and spacious hospital, with a nice house for the doctor's home. This hospital is founded and sustained by the village. The village has also waterworks. Though the pipes are made of bamboos and wooden tubes, the villagers are supplied with a pure and healthy water. The village roads are substantially constructed—better than those of the city of Tokyo. Among the villagers the social side of life is well developed, and their social activity is so systematically organized that even the most civilized town does not reach their standard. They have clubs for each class of people—Fathers', Mothers', Young Men's, Young Girls', and Juniors' respectively. The Mothers' Club often awards a prize to a worthy girl, which does much to encourage virtue among youths of the village.

The Government encourages villages to advance along the path of practical socialism, and seeks to create emulation among those more backward by publishing accounts of model villages. How this is done may be seen from the following notice issued and distributed by the Home Office, and headed "The Three Model Villages":—

"In the 21st year of Meiji (1887), 'The City, Town, and Village Regulations' were issued, and the foundation of local self-government was established. These regulations were in no small degree modelled after those of the Western countries, but at the same time the utmost care was taken to encourage public spirit and to develop good old customs. In fact, the spirit of national unity which had been fostered during these twenty-five centuries since the foundation of the empire, was the original element out of which the present system of local self-government was developed. Only a short time has elapsed since these regulations were issued, and our country is still in the midst of improvement in this respect, and yet there are not wanting certain exemplary village communities, which may be regarded as model villages, worthy of imitation by others.

Selecting the best of these model villages, we get the following three, and describe some of their chief features.

"The prosperity of a community owes much, of course, to the efforts of its authorities, but unless the people of the community co-operate for the same end, its prosperity is not to be expected. Especially where natural resources are wanting, this co-operation is the most important to secure the wealth and prosperity of the whole community. The most remarkable in this respect is Minamoto village, in Sanbu county, in Chiba Prefecture. This is only a small village of some three hundred houses, but its administration is in perfect order, and there are many things noteworthy. For instance, one of the most remarkable things is the way in which the pass-books of the villagers are kept. Almost all the people of the village unite in saving all the money they can and deposit their savings as postal deposits in the village post-office, and the pass-books are kept, not in the homes of the depositors, as is the case everywhere else, but in the post-office itself. Moreover, instead of the villagers going to the post-office, the authorities come to gather the deposits. And, again, when recently 'War Loan Bonds' were issued, this little village subscribed for a certain amount, and that at above par in every case. Such is the spirit of union in this little village. Again, this spirit is exhibited in the election of the members of the House of Representatives by all the members of the village in council. All the villagers get together, deliberate over the matter, nominate one well-qualified candidate, and promise to vote for him. Is not this a beautiful spirit of union? And the result of such spirit is naturally seen in the well-ordered administration of the village. The common school of the village stands by the side of the village office, and it is painted with red ochre, so that the building may last for a long time. The school has the education-fund of the village. One of the villagers contributed 1000 yen, and that became the occasion of other villagers doing the same thing, and now

the fund amounts to 12,000 yen, the interest of which is enough to support the school at present. Consequently no tuition fee is charged. Another thing remarkable in the educational administration of the village is the fact that there is not one child in the whole village that does not go to school. Such is the extent to which education is encouraged. As to agriculture, Gokurakuji, a division of the village, has done the most. Rice is the main cereal produced, as in other parts of Japan. The buying of manure, the selection of seeds, and the improvement of the nursery beds of rice plants are done through the vote of the whole village. A few years ago the village received an honour flag from the Agricultural Council of the Prefecture, and since then it has continued to keep the same honour year after year. As additional work, every house plants trees, the result of which is also remarkable. And, again, to make the village's self-government firm, a scheme has been adopted to raise a village fund of 10,000 yen, and is already in process of execution.

"In Inatori village, Kamo county, Shizuoka Prefecture, we find pioneer men who make it their business to promote the prosperity and independence of their village.

"If we go from the harbour of Shimoda in the southern extremity of the Izu peninsula, northward some ten miles, passing through more than ten winding mountain paths, we come to luxuriant forests. These are the forests of Inatori village. These forests are mostly of pine trees, and were planted for the purpose of producing a village fund of 250,000 yen. At first the people of the village considered the plan too vague and foolish, and only a few approved the scheme. But the pioneer of the village, Matakichi Tamura, succeeded in persuading his fellow-villagers to plant the young pine trees. Unfortunately, this first attempt proved a failure, most of the young trees withering away. So the opposition of the villagers was increased, and there seemed no hope left for a second trial. However, Tamura was

dauntless. He went around, spade in hand, and himself planted trees everywhere, and at the same time encouraged the stubborn people to do the same thing. He said, 'Trees should not be planted by the hand only, but also by the heart.' By this he meant that they must be planted and reared carefully—nay, kindly, as it were. At last his efforts were not in vain, and the result is the luxuriant forest around the village. At the entrance to the village some three hundred men and women are seen assiduously working in several scores of boats. These people are gathering the *tokorotem-gusa*, a kind of edible seaweed, which may be called the most important natural resource of the place. Indeed this, too, is the result of co-operation. The net profit of the last five years from this source alone amounted to more than 3500 yen, more than 40 per cent. of which has been deposited as a school fund, and has been invested in the land. The uncommonly prosperous administration of the village owes much, of course, to the rich natural resources, and yet at the same time it owes not a little to the untiring efforts and indefatigable spirit of Tamura. He had been the village master for six years, during which time he always lived in the village office and sacrificed his private affairs for the sake of the prosperity of the village. No one could excel him in earnestness and faithfulness. But one day he thought and said to himself, 'It is easy to coerce by public authority, but if the people are not intelligent enough, success, though once attained, cannot last long. Certainly it is my duty as a private villager to develop the real strength of the people.' So he left the village office, to return no more, took off his uniform, and let his wife burn it. Since then he has devoted himself to the improvement of agriculture and to the general prosperity of Iriya, that is, the division of the village in which he lives. He has tried to be virtuous himself and to induce others to be virtuous also. First of all, he established a 'meeting of

house-masters.' There he gave lectures on agricultural, economical, educational, and moral subjects. In this manner he formed his plans and schemes. As the main product, the raising of silkworms was encouraged, and as an additional product, the cultivation of oranges was taken up. Every year 10 per cent. of the whole profit is deposited under the name of 'long peace-giving money, a sort of reserve fund. In this way the farmers were encouraged.

"But if household help be wanting, it could not be called satisfactory. So he began a meeting of 'mothers,' where he lectures on home, education, and housekeeping, etc. To encourage mothers, there is a vote for the best girls, and each girl who has the honour of being elected is presented with a workbox, which is to be taken to her new home. It is no wonder that the people of the neighbouring villages apply to these girls for marriage. The meeting for mothers was not enough ; so a 'meeting of daughters' was started. Housekeeping and sewing are taught, and lectures on morals are also given. Such has been the work which Tamura has done for his village. The result of all this is the fact that there is not a criminal, and almost no case of divorce, in the whole village. Moreover, we see many noteworthy things in the administration of the village. Industrial, engineering, and sanitary matters are improving. Agricultural improvements, the repair of roads, the building of a hospital and aqueduct, are all forthcoming. . . .

"Almost every child goes to school. The people of the whole village are enlightened and intelligent. They are remarkable for their good manners. The spiritual health of the community is not the only thing cared for, for the physical health is also looked after. The sanitary conditions of the village have nothing to be criticised. Local diseases have died away. The village council, deeply thankful for his efforts, unanimously voted to present the hospital building and its appendages to the doctor in

charge, Dr. Goro Nishiyama, as his well-earned reward. Formerly this village was numbered among the poorest villages of the province of Izu, the taxes being seldom paid punctually. But at present this same village has changed, and is counted among the three model villages in the whole country, and this has been accomplished by the utilization of natural resources, through the efforts of the pioneer men of the village.

"Finally, we mention Oide village, in Natori county, in Miyagi Prefecture. Though natural resources like those of Inatori are wanting, and co-operation like that of Minamoto village is not forthcoming, yet, mainly through the efforts of the village master, Oide village has won the laurel of being a model village. It was originally a poor, insignificant village. But since the present village master has come into his office, he has done, and is doing, his utmost for its welfare. The name of the master is Shiroemon Nagao, and he loves his villagers as a father does his children. He is a man of patience and self-respect, and devotes himself wholly to the good of the village. Hence, no wonder that his administration is successful. As his co-operator, we find the village schoolmaster, Hidefuku Moniwa. For the last thirty years this man has been the schoolmaster of the village. He is so ardent in his work that if any of his pupils are absent from school, he himself on his way from school visits the home of the absent pupil and inquires the reason of his absence, and warns the pupil and his parents against idleness. The result is that the percentage of the school attendance of this village is much more favourable than that of any other villages. Except the blind and deaf mutes, there is almost no child that does not go to school. Not only in education, but also in sanitary, engineering, and industrial matters, arrangements are all satisfactorily made. Among these, industry is regarded as specially important, and the idea that industry is the source of prosperity permeates the mind of the

villagers. They mean to co-operate and neglect no available resource. The extension of the arable land, improvements in the cultivation of rice and barley, and the use of horses in cultivation, are all encouraged and practised. The cultivation of mulberries is also encouraged, and efforts are being made to develop the raising of silkworms and the production of silk. And extra work is also encouraged. As a rule, every villager is to make two pairs of straw sandals every night before he goes to bed. Since the outbreak of the present war the number has been increased to three pairs instead of two. After ten years, the result of co-operative work will amount to a profit of 40,000 yen. A part of this money has already been contributed towards the war fund. And, moreover, to make the independence and self-government of the village firm and secure, the villagers are zealously striving to lay up a village fund. The profit from this source does not amount to much at present, and yet it is hoped that the time will not be very far distant when all the ordinary expenses of the village will be defrayed from the interest of this village fund alone."

The effect of these "model village" publications is immense, and it is considered a great honour to be mentioned as one who has helped to gain this distinction for his native place.

The fact that socialistic communities are able to exist in the midst of the empire should encourage the leaders of that movement by showing that their ideas are not incompatible with the existing conditions. Although it may be true that the Japanese Government has shown too great a leaning towards paternalism, the people of Japan surely cannot complain of the slowness with which their liberty is coming to them. As early as 1232 A.D. a Japanese statesman made the laws in touch with the popular feeling, for by the laws of the Teiyei era he established a council of state with twelve judges, the same number as the English jury. These twelve judges sat in the council

chamber, before whom all litigation was brought for investigation and decision. The plaintiff and defendant had their spokesmen, who argued and defended the case ; and afterwards the twelve judges retired into a closed chamber, where an oath was administered to them, before they deliberated and examined the case, as follows :—

“During the deliberation of a case, and the decision afterwards between right and wrong, neither family connections, nor sympathy with or antipathy against the party shall influence. Fear not a powerful family, or favour not a friend, but speak in accordance with the dictates of truth. Should there be a case decided wrong and redress refused to a man, we shall be punished by all the gods and goddesses of the realm. Thus, we swear and affix our signatures.”

This may be taken as an instance of the amount of liberty and justice enjoyed by the Japanese individual even at a time when there was little of either to be found in Europe. Forty years ago Japan was a feudal country, now the Constitution guarantees full personal liberty. The Japanese people have “liberty of abode, and of changing the same within the limits of the law.” They shall not “be arrested, detained, tried or punished, unless according to law ;” “no Japanese subject shall be deprived of his right of being tried by the judges determined by law.” A Japanese houseowner’s house is his castle ; his letters enjoy a secrecy which remains inviolate. “The right of property of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate ;” “Japanese subjects shall . . . enjoy freedom of religious belief ;” “Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations.” Truly a remarkable progress from feudalism.

The attitude of the Japanese Socialists is for peace, and for the securing of peace they advocate the co-operation of the Socialists of all countries.

The opinion of the leaders of the movement as to the future of Japanese socialism is shown in the following extract. In 1900, writing of the work done in three years preceding, Mr. Katayama wrote :—

“We have done much, although our strength is feeble. We have moved the Eastern world to see the necessity of adopting socialism to better the condition of our people, which is so corrupted and degraded. Even political parties have adopted the principle as being the best one for reform. We have led in every phase of social activity; we have started the co-operative movement, and it has taken deep root among our working people. Only in the last session of the Diet the law was approved by the two Houses. We have helped to found a People’s Bank, and now the first one has a good and reputable standing with nearly ten thousand working people depositors.”

In 1901 he wrote: “Socialism will become a ruling motive in our country, as it is spreading so rapidly throughout the land. The voices of opposition raised by social political leaders have faded away. The so-called industrial revolution has made great strides in our society, and social conditions have so changed that they are admirably suited to the steady growth of socialism. . . . We can predict the future by what we see now, and this is why the growth of socialism in our country will be faster than in conservative England, and will lead the Far East in this great movement.”

The future movement will be largely political, at least this seems to be the opinion of Mr. Katayama.

“It may easily be foreseen,” he says, “that as time goes on, the future aspect of the problem in Japan will be one of closer connection with political movements, for the police regulations now in force are not so severe with regard to political activities as they are towards labour movements. While the formation of a labour society is a difficult matter at present, there is no difficulty in organizing

a political party. Under these circumstances there is a natural tendency on the part of the labouring classes to come together under the banners of a political party in their attempts to make any movement under collective bodies, and gradually labour associations will be turned into political parties. Moreover, there is a strong reason for this tendency. This is the increasing influence of socialism amongst the working classes, who have already begun to adopt its principles. In order to obtain its objects, socialism will have to gain political support. In future movements, more efforts should be made in demanding a system of universal suffrage than in trying to bring about an increase of wages. A general agitation on a much greater scale, for demanding political power, should be more encouraged than isolated strikes for reducing the hours of the working day. All future movements must be of a political character, and the working classes should unite under a great political party with the object of counteracting the influence of the capitalists. No isolated movement against any particular capitalist or employer is to be recommended ; on the contrary, it must be a contest of the masses against the classes. These are the methods, I think, which ought to be adopted in relation to the problems of the future, and by them alone can the difficult question be solved."

So much for the Socialist view of the future. The *Japan Times*, writing on the subject, presents another aspect. "It seems to us," it says, "that socialistic doctrines may spread among us, and may possibly benefit us in various ways, but are not likely to lead to popular agitations of a character inimical to public order and tranquillity. If anything tends to promote the growth of such dangers, it may possibly be, as it is to be feared, cases of unnecessary official interference." So it would seem as if both sides are united upon the one point that violence, and especially individual violence, is to be deprecated by both parties.

The political future of socialism depends largely upon the extension of the franchise, and universal suffrage is the important plank in the platform of the Social Democratic Party. The Socialist leaders would, however, do well to reflect upon the advisability of giving the full franchise to men whom they themselves admit are not ready even to recognize the full value of labour unions, nor are ready to join them and support them regularly.

There is no doubt that socialism in Japan will grow and develop mightily, but it is certain also that it must become a vastly different movement there than in other countries. In this it would be only following out the example set in almost every other branch of national life. Unless the Socialists of Japan can manage to intermingle a considerable amount of loyalty and devotion to the Emperor and to the country into their doctrines, it is certain that there is little hope for any wider extension of the movement. The leaders, however, are shrewd men, as has been shown by their adoption of politics rather than useless agitation amongst the lower classes, and they are not the sort of men to run their heads against brick walls. To all Japanese, Socialists as well as others, the Emperor and the country must precede all else; and it is this development of socialism in Japan into a fundamental force for government efficiency wherein lies its interest to the Western world.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ARMY AND THE NAVY

IN a country where patriotism and universal sacrifice for the welfare of the fatherland play the predominant part, it is inevitable that the question of national defence should be treated in a competent manner. Theoretically, the army system of Japan is based upon conscription, but in practice it is the highest form of voluntary service. Conscription is, in the minds of the British and Americans, indissolubly bound up with constraint—an impression strengthened by the disinclination of the conscripts on the European continent to serve their country in the ranks. In Japan there is none of that side of conscription. The Japanese look upon it as a privilege to be allowed to receive such training as will enable them to adequately defend Japan in all emergencies. Japanese conscription is rather a means of the selection of the fittest than a system to compel citizens to serve. Every Japanese knows it to be his duty, as well as a highly prized privilege, to serve his time in the army or the navy. There are none of the hundred and one drawbacks which too often mar the system of compulsory service. In Japan the duty of service would be felt more compulsory were there no conscription law and no regulations for calling up year by year those available for military service. And in the development of this spirit lies one of the greatest of all lessons for countries owning free institutions and anxious to maintain their right of independent progress.

There is a duty which every citizen owes to his State which should lead him to desire the chance of fitting himself to defend his native soil. In conscription such as this there is no disgrace, no ignominy. Only those who are perforce rejected as the least fit can feel shame, in that an unkind nature has not gifted them to serve their country in the field. In any nation filled by such a recognition of the duty and privilege of citizenship there would be small need of polemic discussions as to whether the country could or could not be invaded—there would be no doubt as to its security. It is the duty of all, say the Japanese, who see into the future clear-sightedly, to urge the development of this patriotic spirit, which lies latent in the breast of every citizen. Who would doubt that, in the case of invasion, all the manhood of the country would spring to arms to repel the menace? But surely the offer of amateur, untrained devotion is a much less thing than the achievement of efficiency in readiness whenever the call to service may come. Physically the benefit is enormous, morally it is no less so, and the nation is enabled to reach its true level of complete self-confidence and strength. It is no alien idea which is suggested by the example of Japan; it is an instinct in humanity which requires to be called forth and developed along lines of practical patriotism. In Japan may be seen this ideal form of national service—a nation in arms, and educated to make the best use of those arms. It is not necessary to dwell upon technical details, intelligible only to the military or naval student; these follow of themselves, provided the central idea, the national impulse, be right. When a nation shall have reached the point where every citizen feels it his duty and privilege to be trained in arms for the defence of the fatherland, and is educated to understand the real significance of this service, it will become a greater, saner, and more efficient people.

The Japanese system is purely patriotic, and thus the

soldiers and sailors who serve on the battle-field know that their wives and children are being cared for, and that, if they themselves are wounded, they will nevertheless have a future provided for them. The importance of such a knowledge is so immense as to be immeasurable—to feel that one is really an integral part of a nation! Dead or alive, the soldiers and sailors of Japan are close to the hearts of the people. Memorial services to the dead are no mere ceremonies; they are serious communications addressed to the departed soldiers and sailors, informing them of the progress of the campaign in which they are no longer to take other than a spiritual part. During the absence of the men at the front, the neighbours who remain at home do everything in their power to carry on the work left for the benefit of the soldiers' or sailors' families. This is noted in two pamphlets, issued under the titles of "Relief Works," and "Memorial Works of the Present Emergency." In one of these occurs the following:—

"Coming to the relief works in the towns and villages, we have to mention the Secret Ploughing Society of the young men of Nakagawa village, Gumma county, Gumma Prefecture. Either at night or when nobody knows, these young men go out and plough for those who are away at the front the farms which lie unploughed and unsowed on account of their cultivators' absence, and thus help the labour of their families left behind. In Meiji village of the same county in the same prefecture, and also in Ashikaga town, Ashikaga county, Tochiki Prefecture, tillage was helped and agricultural work was satisfactorily accomplished. In Kuse county, Kyoto Prefecture, the school-children helped the tillage of the farms of those away at the front, after their school was over. In some places farms are gratuitously lent out to the soldiers' families for tillage, or manures and other things are bought together at wholesale prices and distributed to them, or capital is either lent or given, so that they can devote themselves to the

manufacture of straw articles which are by-products of farming, or some work in tea-making or silkworm raising is found out and given to them. Can we not see the beautiful spirit of help and co-operation in these farming villages? In Tsuda village, Kita-Kawachi county, Osaka Prefecture, and in Awaga village, Kanzaki county, Hyogo Prefecture, the villagers gave the monopoly of selling matches, soaps, *tofu* (bean-curd), and other household articles to the soldiers' families, and are glad to get their supply only from these licensed families."

The other pamphlet contains exhortations to frugality and to the encouragement of works devoted to the development of the national wealth. In it are found some examples of the way in which this advice is being carried out:—

"In Shirohigashi village, Yosa county, Kioto Prefecture, a new building was put up for raising silkworms in memory of the present war, and young silkworms, after the third stage of their growth, are given out to every household in the village. In Toyama Prefecture, the committee whose business it is to encourage industries are placed in every town and village, and the methods of ploughing and manuring are carefully taught so as to leave no benefit left unreaped. In Mie, Fukushima, and Tokushima Prefectures places for instructing the manufacture of *sanada* (tape) have been newly established or increased, in order to encourage the same manufacture. In Shiga Prefecture, Lake Biwa, and Lake Yogo are utilized, and fisheries have been newly opened in the towns and villages along the coast. In Tokyo Prefecture, not only are meetings held from time to time for lectures about the war, but also societies for planting hay-seeds have been formed in every town, in every village, or in every division of land convenient to this end for the purpose of advancing both education and industry hand in hand."

These methods of perpetuating the services of the sons of the nation can at least claim an equality with the erection of tablets and statues !

The Japanese soldiers and sailors go to the war expecting and prepared to offer their lives for their country. They do not wish to die, but they are ready to die cheerfully if the cause of the nation can be advanced by their death. Their courage is not the bravery of a fanatic, who charges to his death wrapt in a divine intoxication of insensibility ; it is the courage of the educated thinking man who fully realizes his danger, but is prepared to rise superior to his fears and do his best for his country. " When the Japanese soldier fights for his Emperor a great deal more than mere patriotism is involved. He does not go into active service with the idea of coming back again ; he breaks all ties which bind him to his native land. When he is enrolled he gives his life to the Emperor. That is absolute and final. In times of peace nothing can interfere with his duty, in times of war he goes on service determined, and if even the smallest good to his Emperor can result he will die willingly and gladly. . . . It is regarded as a glorious privilege, not a duty, to offer his life for the Emperor, and mothers, instead of regretting that the call has included their sons, sigh because they have no more sons to give." Thus a war correspondent of the *Standard* sums up the feelings which actuate the Japanese soldier and sailor.

To do one's duty adequately is the highest qualification for heroism, and the officer who is executed as a spy while endeavouring to blow up a bridge, or the humblest camp follower doing his best, are equally esteemed. Perhaps the most striking figure in the popular imagination during the war has been Commander Hirose, who perished during an attempt to seal Port Arthur. This officer was one of the ablest and most devoted officers in the Japanese navy, and lost his life because he refused to

leave the sunken hulk without his friend, Chief Warrant Officer Sugino. The late Lafcadio Hearn wrote shortly before his own death:—

“Boys and girls in all the children’s schools are now singing the Song of Hirose Chusa, which is a marching song. The words and the music are published in a little booklet with a portrait of the late commander upon the cover. Everywhere, and at all hours of the day, one hears this song being sung:—

“‘He whose every word and deed gave to men an example of what the war-folk of the Empire of Nippon should be,—Commander Hirose: is he really dead?

“‘Though the body die, the spirit dies not. He who wished to be reborn seven times into this world, for the sake of serving his country, for the sake of requiting the Imperial favour,—Commander Hirose: has he really died?

““‘Since I am a son of the Country of the Gods, the fire of the evil-hearted Russians cannot touch me!’—the sturdy Takeo who spoke thus: can he really be dead? . . .

“‘Nay! that glorious war-death meant undying fame;—beyond a thousand years the valiant heart shall live;—as to a God of War shall reverence be paid him. . . .’”

It was Hirose who, hearing a friend was to marry the daughter of the Minister of Marine, went to this latter and begged him to break off the match, giving as his reason that since his friend was sure to gain promotion owing to his ability, it would be a serious mistake to give even the shadow of a suspicion that his advance was due to the aid of his father-in-law. Hirose held that officers should have no relations, no family save only the country which they serve.

The children of Japan are taught in school the kindergarten of soldiering—this is natural enough when it is the duty of all to be fitted to defend the country. Education in Japan is designed to turn out boys and girls who will be good citizens, and one of the most important duties of good citizenship is preparation for national defence.

School-boys are drilled, and imbibe the elements of military education at an early age. A writer in the *Times* thus describes one phase of this military training :—

“While attending the military manœuvres of two divisions of the Japanese army,” he says, “the most important they had held since their war with China, a very striking element came under my notice, in the attendance of numerous boys’ schools and colleges, public and private, many from a great distance. Official arrangements had been made for the conveyance of these boys and youths, of ages varying from ten to seventeen, to the theatre of operations, and for placing them in positions from which they could, from day to day, view the manœuvres of the troops to the best advantage. Officers were, in many cases, specially appointed to explain the general idea of what was going on, and the intelligent interest thus aroused was very noticeable. On several occasions I was surprised in riding out in the field at an early hour, long before that named for the opening of hostilities, to find these lads already on the ground, with their overcoats banderole, as keen and eager as possible. On inquiry I was told that they had voluntarily bivouacked out the previous night, in order to be early on the spot and miss nothing. They had all been drilled, and understood ordinary military terms—in fact, had received sufficient military instruction to enable them to follow what came to their notice intelligently. They were all armed, the juniors with dummy wooden rifles sufficient to teach the manual, and the seniors with rifles of a previous army pattern, with which they had been through a short annual musketry course. The advantages of this systematic encouraging of youthful military ardour, and the fostering of the martial spirit of the nation from the fountain-head, are obviously enormous, and this was fully realized by the senior Japanese military officers I conversed with on the subject. As practical evidence of what a public and martial spirit

would produce, Marshal Yamagata, who was commanding at the manœuvres, informed me at their conclusion that, although the farmers and landowners in the manœuvre area had been invited to send in claims for incidental damages, in not a single case had such claim been preferred."

Education has received a striking testimony as to its value on the battle-field in the great success which has been achieved amongst the officers by the one-year graduates. The standard of education amongst the conscripts is very high. Some two years ago there were 425,136 young men who had arrived at the age of service. The examinations results are interesting reading, and throw much light upon the spread of education in Japan. The figures were as follows:—

	Number.
1. Those who possess scholarship equivalent to that of middle school graduates or of higher standing	9,223
2. Those who possess the scholarship of higher primary school graduates	67,917
3. Those who possess scholarship of ordinary primary school graduates	183,974
4. Those who can read and calculate somewhat	91,276
5. Those who are illiterate	72,746
Total	425,136

This national army is therefore also an educated force, and each year sees the percentage of illiteracy sinking lower. National pride demands education, and thus the national privilege of conscription feels the benefit of a unanimous progressive force. It is this national feeling which enables the army and the navy to work so harmoniously together, like parts of an intricate machine, though each doing its own special work. Where there is but one supreme duty to be accomplished there can be no jealousy. To work in any other way save in the most perfect harmony would be to be false to the nation and untrue to the patriotism which fills every Japanese. The defence of

Japan is the work of the nation, and it matters not whether the individual atom works for his country in the field or on the water—the same driving force is at the back of him, and there can be no retrogressions. Japan's idea of the best means to secure the defence of the country is no new thing, but the growth of hundreds of years. Some 200 years before the Restoration, a certain Dazai Jun wrote on "Bubi: Preparation for War." Concerning this, Mr. R. T. Kirby, speaking before the Asiatic Society of Japan, said—

"The meaning of the characters *bu* and *bi* is to be prepared for war. The character *bi* means to be warned and in readiness before an event takes place. The Japanese meaning of the character *bi* is *sonoru*, which means to be prepared both in mind and body in such a way that when danger has to be faced, defeat shall not result from unreadiness. Take, for example, the fact that water is commonly kept as a precaution against fire, and this will illustrate what is implied by this character. It is said that the ancient kings placed learning on their right hand and the art of war on their left. For wisdom and the art of war are like two wheels of a chariot, neither of which can be dispensed with; for to discard one would be to destroy the use of the other. In times of great peace wisdom is shown in remembering the arts of war. The character *bu*, which stands for war, is said to be composed of two characters, *shi*, to stop, and *kwa*, a spear, the joint meaning of which is to prevent the movement of *kan*, shields, and *kwa*, spears (or, in plain English, prevent war). To employ troops for the purpose of fighting, to defeat armies, to besiege castles, to capture territory, and so forth, is not the art of war. But the true art of war is to govern one's country carefully, to keep it from invasion by neighbouring foes, to send troops to put down what revolts there may be in adjoining countries, to show the adjacent nations the light of one's fearfulness in war, so as to prevent hostile incursions, and to awake fear in the hearts of men."

In the same work appears a quotation to the effect that "though a country be great, if the people love war it is sure to be overthrown, and though peace prevail, if war be forgotten there is sure to be danger." These ideas may be said to express the attitude to-day of the Japanese nation towards the army, the navy, and the civilian.

There are two great factors to be considered in observing the achievements of the Japanese troops, and they are sufficiently important to warrant their being dealt with at some length. The first great factor which makes the Japanese soldiers what they are emanates from the Emperor. Every soldier receives, as the foundation of his education and his training, the ideas contained in the five articles of a soldier's duty drawn up by the Emperor for the guidance of his army. Just as the Emperor's speech on education forms the foundation of moral training in the schools of his empire, so these five articles form the basis of the moral training of the soldier. The second factor is a sentimental one, if we may so describe a feeling which has been part of the national life since 1894. This second factor is the effect of the dead soldiers and sailors upon the living. The one factor supplements the other, and the two make a force which no amount of forts could resist.

The Imperial Rescript runs as follows :—

"The army of this country, in ancient times, stood from generation to generation under the supreme command of the Emperor. More than two thousand five hundred years have passed since the time when the Emperor Jimmu suppressed the barbarian tribes of the central provinces, and established himself on his Imperial throne. The expedition was under the supreme command of the Emperor himself, and was composed of warriors of Otomo and Mononobe, the most illustrious warrior-clans of the day.

"Military reorganization often was necessitated in subsequent ages by the vicissitudes of the times and the needs

of the country's wars ; but throughout Our ancient history the Emperor was always the regular commander. His place in the field was sometimes taken by the queen or the crown prince, but the supreme command of the army was never entrusted to a subject.

"In the Middle Ages all administrative matters, whether military or civil, were copied from China ; six garrisons were organized, and two *depôts* for horses, and a system of frontier-guards were likewise established. The organization of the army was thus excellent on paper ; but the long continuance of peace ruined the efficiency of the army, farmers and soldiers became two distinct classes.

"The warriors imperceptibly changed into a professional caste, popularly called *bushi*, the principal men of which became the permanent leaders of the army ; and the general chaos of the national life placed the chief powers of the Government into their hands, and kept them there for close upon seven hundred years.

"No human power could probably have arrested this turn of Our national life ; and yet it was a thing much to be regretted, as being entirely out of harmony with Our national constitution and the rules laid down by Our ancestors.

"After the periods of Kokwa (A.D. 1844) and Ka-ei (A.D. 1848), the Government of the Tokugawa House became too feeble to bear the responsibilities of national government, and a critical period was made more critical by the petitions for admission and intercourse which came from foreign nations. These circumstances caused great anxiety to Our Grandfather, the Emperor Ninko, and Our Father, the late Emperor Komei. When, not long afterwards, We ascended the throne in Our youth, the Shogun Tokugawa returned his authority into Our hands, and the lesser Barons likewise restored to Us their territories. Thus, in less than one year, the whole country came once more under Our direct control, and We were thus enabled

to restore again the old system of Government. This great result was due in part to the meritorious services of Our loyal subjects of all classes, who aided us in the accomplishment of this great work, and partly to the mercy which every Emperor of this country has felt for Our people; but the basis of the whole work now successfully accomplished has been the fact that Our people themselves have a just knowledge of right and wrong, and rightly apprehend the meaning of true loyalty.

"During the fifteen years that have elapsed since then, We have reorganized Our military and naval system, and formed Our present army and navy in order to make Our country glorious. The army and navy is now under Our direct command, and though partial commands may from time to time be entrusted to some of Our subjects, the supreme command will always remain with Us. We desire you to remember this fact, and to let your descendants know that the Emperor is the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, so that the country may never again have to go through the ignominy of the Middle Ages.

"We are your Commander-in-Chief, and as such We rely upon you, as upon Our hands, and We desire you to look upon Us as your head, so that the relation between Us may be one of absolute and sincere confidence and trust. Whether We perform Our duty or not, depends entirely on the manner in which you perform yours. If Our country fails to stand high in the opinion of other nations, We desire you to share in Our sorrow. If it rises with honour, We will enjoy the fruits of it with you. Stand firm in your duty; assist Us in protecting the country; and the result must be the prosperity of the nation, and the enhancement of Our country's reputation.

"This is not all We wish to say to you. We have more advice for you, as follows:—

"(1) The principal duty of soldiers is loyalty to sovereign and country. It is not probable that any one born

in this country will be wanting in patriotism ; but for soldiers this virtue is so essential that unless a man be strong in patriotism, he will be unfitted for his service. Disloyal men are like dolls, however expert and skilful they may be in their military art and science, and a troop which is well trained and led, but lacks patriotism, is like a band without a chief. The protection of a country and the maintenance of its prestige must rest upon Our military and naval forces ; their efficiency or deterioration must effect, for good or ill, the fate of Our nation ; and it is, therefore, your duty not to entangle yourself with social matters or political questions, but strictly to confine yourself to the observance of your principal duty, remembering always that duty is heavier than a mountain (and so to be much regarded), while death is lighter than a feather (and therefore to be despised). Never spoil your good name by a violation of good faith.

“(2) Soldiers must be polite in their behaviour and ways. In the army and navy there are hierarchal ranks from the marshal to the private or bluejacket, which bind together the whole for purposes of command, and there are also the gradations of seniority within the same rank. The junior must obey the senior, the inferior must take orders from the superior, who transmit them to our direct command, and inferior and junior officers and men must pay respect to their superiors and seniors, even though they be not their direct superiors and seniors. Superiors must never be proud or haughty towards those of lower rank, and severity of discipline must be reserved for exceptional cases. In all other cases superiors must treat those beneath them with kindness and especial clemency, so that all men may unite as one man in the service of the country. If you do not observe courtesy of behaviour, if inferiors treat their superiors with disrespect, or superiors their inferiors with harshness, if, in a word, the harmonious relations between superiors and inferiors be lost, you will

be not only playing havoc with the army, but committing serious crimes against the country.

“(3) It is incumbent upon soldiers to be brave and courageous. These two virtues have in this country been always held in very high esteem, and are indeed indispensable to Our nation ; soldiers, whose profession it is to fight against the foe, should never, for one instant, forget that they must be brave. But there is a true bravery and a false one, which is totally different, and the rough behaviour of youth cannot be called true bravery. A man of arms must always act with reason, and makes his plans with *sang froid* and care. You must never despise even a small body of the enemy ; on the other hand, you must never be afraid of large numbers ; it is in the accomplishment of duty that true bravery lies. Those who thus appreciate true bravery will always behave with moderation towards others, and will earn the respect of all men. If you act with violence, you are not truly brave, and will be hated by others like a tiger or a wolf.

“(4) Soldiers are required to be faithful and righteous. Faithfulness and righteousness are among the ordinary duties of man, the man of arms can scarcely exist without them. By the former is meant the keeping of one's word ; by the latter, the accomplishment of duty. Hence, if you wish to be faithful and righteous, you must first consider whether a thing may be done or not. If you promise to do something, the nature of which is uncertain, and so entangle yourself with others, you will be in an embarrassing situation, which may drive you to become unfaithful or unrighteous ; and in such a case you will have no remedy, but only vain regrets. Before embarking on any action, you must first consider whether it is right or wrong to do such a thing, and then take a firm stand upon reason. If you have reason to think that you cannot keep your word, or that the duty is too heavy, it will be wise if you refrain from action. The history of all

ages gives us examples of the truth of this : many great men and heroes have perished or dishonoured themselves by trying to be faithful and righteous in small things, and mistaking fundamental reason, or by observing individual faithfulness at the expense of justice. You must take heed not to fall in this way.

“(5) It is incumbent upon soldiers to be simple and frugal. If you do not observe simplicity and frugality, you will become weak and false-hearted, and accustom yourself to luxurious habits which lead to cupidity. In that case your mind will become ignoble, and neither your loyalty nor your bravery will avail to save you from the contempt and hatred of your fellow-men. This is one of the greatest sources of human misery, and if this evil be once allowed to seize hold of the army and navy, it will promptly spread like an epidemic, and all *esprit de corps* and discipline will be broken through. We have been very much concerned about this, and have issued disciplinary regulations designed for the prevention of luxury ; and now Our constant concern leads us to tender you this advice, which We desire you to keep in mind.

“The above Five Articles must never be neglected by you, and you will require a true heart to put them into practice. The Five Articles are the spirit of the man-at-arms, and the true heart is the spirit of the Five Articles. If the heart be not true, good words and good conduct are nothing but useless external ornaments. If the heart be true, you can accomplish anything.”

Instructed along these lines since 1882, the Japanese soldier has developed into what he is to-day, and it would be hard to deny that his development has a firm and solid foundation.

The Japanese soldier is responsible for his success after success, not his weapons of precision. A general order of the Emperor to his army some years ago contained the following paragraph : “Of every one of you the Emperor

and your country expects the accomplishment of the impossible." And the Japanese soldiers are men to whom such an order may be addressed without fear of failure.

The Imperial rescript forms part of the equipment of every soldier, and great generals, like Kuroki, think a day ill-begun in which they have not saluted the Emperor's portrait and read the edict.

The spirit actuating officers and men is well shown in two letters which were published in the *Japan Weekly Mail*. The first was from General Baron Nogi to General Terauchi, Minister of War, and was written a few days after the capitulation of Port Arthur.

"I wish you all the compliments of the season. The feeling I have at this moment is solely one of anguish and humiliation that I should have expended so many lives, so much ammunition, and such a long time upon an unaccomplished task. At last General Stoessel's patience seems to have become exhausted and he surrendered the fortress, so that in this part of the field a settlement has been reached. I have no excuse to offer to my Sovereign and to my countrymen for this unscientific, unstrategical combat of brute force. . . . Our preparations are now complete, and we are looking forward with great pleasure to tasting the sweets of a field campaign. Let me add one thing. You will be amused, perhaps, but I am more than ever convinced of the inevitable injury done to the discipline and homogeneity of an army in the field by the pernicious habit of acquiring costly and useless toys in time of peace. Do not think that I speak too strongly when I express my absolute conviction that for preserving a military spirit simplicity is as essential as are economy and practicability in moral education. I do not refer merely to the period during which this war may continue, however long it may be. My point is, that when they have ceased to hear the voice of the cannon, our military men must never fall into the inconvenient and mischievous habit of regulating their

clothing and appurtenances by unmilitary standards. I thank you heartily for your kind condolences on the deaths of my sons, and I beg you to forgive my long display of military unskilfulness."

The second letter was written by a captain who lost his life in a successful cavalry dash of some sixty-three days through the enemy's lines. Captain Asano wrote on the eve of departure :—

"To-day, at 10 o'clock, I am to set out at the head of 75 men specially selected from the Cavalry Brigade. We are to emerge on the enemy's rear, reconnoitre his condition, interrupt his communications, and disturb his general plan. Probably you will not hear from me again for fifty or sixty days. We are determined to push far into the Russian lines, and we trust the issue to the guidance of Shaka, believing that now indeed we have an opportunity of repaying, though in an infinitesimally small degree, the favours our country has received from our Sovereigns during thousands of years. That is the sole thought of your worthless son at this moment, and he goes to his duty with absorbing delight. But we have a long march before us, and many dangers to encounter. For my own part, though I am myself of little account, the men under my command are such fine fellows that there is hope of success. I beg you to be at ease, for I swear that I shall not disgrace my father's name or sully the honour of our family. At this moment of setting out, I have written down a verse by way of farewell to life—

" 'If life be but a dream,
Why dreaming, live?
Oh, gladder far to fall
Ere yet the flower fades.' "

Ancestor-worship and *Bushido* add their assistance in producing in the Japanese soldier the ideal fighting man, of whom the world has never seen the equal.

The nation, true to its patriotism, is determined that the soldiers and sailors who are risking their lives shall have everything of the best, and have the greatest possible opportunity to serve Japan. There can be no waste of men's lives by disease or by faulty weapons or ammunition. Everything is done to reduce the death-roll to as modest proportions as possible, and thus the Japanese army in the field is practically stronger than an equal force of any other troops, for there are less gaps in the ranks. A German correspondent said—

“Tranquillity, based on assurance and self-confidence, is observable in the whole of this great factory of war at Chinampo. The buttons for the tailor, the nails for the cobbler, and the fuses for the guns are there. Every horse has fodder, and every man has rice, beans, and beef. All their faces are red, healthy, and fresh. No jubilation is to be heard in the streets, only soldier-like self-confidence is visible. Thus looks an Army which can only conquer or fall with honour.

“Not less remarkable than their fighting capacity is the way the troops manage to keep their health in first-rate condition,” says Mr. Maxwell, the well-known war correspondent. He gives an extraordinary instance of this. The famous Okazaki Brigade, which fought eighteen great battles in seven months, lost in killed and wounded during that period 3700 men, whereas the number of men who died from disease was only four. Though some allowance must be made for the healthy character of the country through which the Okazaki Brigade marched in common with the other sections of the First Army, they always had plenty of pure drinking water, wholesome air, and other conditions conducive to health. But, speaking generally, Mr. Maxwell feels confident that the present war will break all records in the smallness of the percentage of loss from sickness. The proportion of loss in recent wars has generally been 70 from disease and 30

from wounds. This proportion will be signally altered by the Japanese Army.

Sir Frederick Treves reported that the percentage of deaths from disease or wounds in the Japanese armies had sunk to the remarkably small percentage of one, a figure never even approached before. This recognition by the nation of the nation's duty to the soldiers and sailors is one of the most powerful forces which make the armies and navies of Japan so formidable a power.

The sweeping up of the Russian forces by the Japanese has impressed China, and has demonstrated to all the world the superiority of brains over brute force. The army that fights with its head wins every time when opposed to the army that fights only with its muscles, especially is this the case when the latter is endeavouring to do two things at the same time. What the British general was unable to do in Natal, General Kuroki did on the Yalu, although, in the opinion of men who witnessed both battles, the Yalu was worse than the Tugela. And why were the Japanese able to do this? Firstly, because they think out all moves of the game into every detail; and, secondly, because they are not satisfied with anything short of perfection in or for their army.

To discern what is the best in the development of every nation, and to combine it into a perfect and distinct whole—that is what the Japanese have done. This cannot be imitation, it is something infinitely superior to this. Their army does not resemble any other army. It is superior because, besides the *morale* of the men, it is scientifically constructed, without damaging traditions. All the traditions which make the soldiers fight and die for their country are still in existence stronger than ever, but there is an absence of the petty traditions of straps and furbelows. To give one instance of the thoroughness of the Japanese military training as an example: In the Japanese grand manœuvres the following scheme is put

into practice, in order to extend the power to command troops as much as possible. During an important movement the general in command will be informed by the umpires, "You are dead," and the charge of the forces devolves upon the second in command. This process is continued downwards until even the ranks below non-commissioned officers are trained in independence and self-reliance. That this scheme is not merely an idle whim is proved by the fact that the promotion of officers and men is largely governed by their work under these conditions. Even among the men themselves there are three divisions, and the three and two years' service men consider themselves able, if necessary, to direct the one year's service men. Thus in the Japanese army the responsibility of independent fighting is admirably realized, and there is never any likelihood of bodies of troops being at a loss for a leader on the field of battle. All the other items of training are as well thought out and as well carried out as this, and the predominance is given to practical rather than theoretical training.

In the Japanese forces all men are officers and all officers men, and the value of this interchangeability of parts is very great. Discipline does not suffer by the absence of a yawning chasm between the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks. The officer is always the medium by which the nation's wishes are expressed to the soldier, and therefore the men will always obey implicitly. No Japanese officer can command men before he has shown his ability to do the work of a private better than those under his command. The making of a Japanese military officer is of interest. The following account is given by a leading military officer in "The Russo-Japanese War":—

"Simple drilling and parade-work do not enter much into the soldier's daily life. He is, of course, taught to march and to handle his gun, but far more attention is

paid to gymnastics, rifle practice, skirmishing, fencing, and bayonet-fighting—everything that will tend to make him not so much a fighting machine as a living and intelligent unit of a fighting force. Work goes on from six to eleven with short pauses of five minutes at a time between each form of exercise ; then follows dinner, with two hours of repose. From two to six work goes on as in the forenoon ; then supper, recreation, and an early bed.

“ One great feature of Japanese military life is that the officers share in all the exercises of the men, very little being left to non-commissioned officers, sergeants, and corporals. The officers are always on duty, and thus a very complete harmony is established between them and their men. That terror of the German army, the regimental bully—the martinet sergeant—is practically unknown.

“ Promotion from the ranks is, however, quite impossible, no one being eligible for a commission who has not entered himself first as a candidate. Candidates must be either (*a*) graduates of the Cadet School, or (*b*) graduates from any Middle School licensed and recognized by the Government, whether public or private, or (*c*) students who can show that their education has brought them up to the grade required to obtain the leaving certificate of a Middle School. In the two latter cases, they must also have a written letter from the commanding officer of the regiment they wish to join, signifying his willingness to accept them eventually as officers in his regiment.

“ As soon as they are accepted as candidates, they join their regiment as privates, spending twelve months in the ranks as ‘ officer candidates,’ so as to have a complete and practical acquaintance with all the duties of a common soldier, and are then sent for one more year of study to the Military College in Tokyo. Thence they return to their regiment as aspirants, to acquire a practical knowledge of a subaltern’s duties, and at last, about two years

and a half from the time when they first entered as candidates, they are, if approved of at a meeting of the officers of their regiment, accepted and commissioned as sub-lieutenants.

"In the Military College there are departments for infantry, cavalry, field artillery, fortress artillery, engineering, and training. A candidate may choose whichever arm he prefers, and may also select his own regiment or battalion (subject, of course, to the consent of the commanding officer). If the number of candidates exceeds the number of vacancies, the requisite number only is taken, according to the number of marks obtained.

"December 1 is the day on which the new candidate officers join their regiments as privates. They receive uniforms, food, arms, etc., from the Government, but no money allowance. They are expected to drill and be exercised just like the other men in their company, but as candidates they enjoy certain privileges: they are allowed special rooms for themselves in the barracks, and are privileged to mess with the officers, this association with their superiors being supposed to play an important *rôle* in their military education. During their year of service they are promoted lance-corporals and non-commissioned officers, and receive their first lessons in the rudiments of military science from the regimental instructors."

Officers are promoted, after a certain stage, by selection and not by seniority. A special board is charged with this duty, and a similar system exists in the case of naval officers. Thus it is possible to see lieutenants of over forty years of age, who have not proved themselves gifted enough to be given a wider sphere of command. This system is in marked contrast with the European ones. The question of non-commissioned officers has received much special attention within late years, and at present there is no very great gulf between commissioned and non-commissioned

officers. The latter are now rendered eligible as military cadets until the age of twenty-six, which opens the door to many able men who have proved their worth and gained their experience as non-commissioned officers. Special privileges are allowed to the wives and families of the non-commissioned officers, as well as many educational advantages to themselves during and after their period of service. In the Japanese army the non-commissioned officers are quite capable of filling the places of the commissioned should necessity arise.

The most salient points noticeable in the Japanese army in matter of detail are sobriety, cleanliness, self-reliance, and intelligence. There is in Japan no need of temperance societies in connection with the army; the Japanese soldier is a temperate, sober man, who loves his profession, temporary though it be, and who feels no need of carousing to help pass away his time. There is no more remarkable sight for an individual enjoying the benefits of Western civilization than to walk the streets of Tokyo on one of the general military holidays. No drunken men, no riotous behaviour, are to be observed even as night falls over the city. Soldiers may be seen visiting book-shops, drinking tea, walking hand-in-hand down the street, or visiting beautiful natural spots of flower gardens. Gentle in manner, pure in heart, seems this soldier of the Japanese Emperor. Even the uniform and the weapons are in kind a national trust, and have to be cared for in every possible way. Speaking of the Manchurian campaign, a French critic remarks, as to the Russian troops compared to the Japanese, "Provided with guns and projectiles superior to those of the enemy, and having for the most part the advantage of fighting on the defensive, they have, nevertheless, always been defeated, because their officers and men are inferior to the Japanese officers and troops, not in courage, but in intelligence, education, and enthusiasm."

The General Staff of Japan and its executive officers

have opened up new vistas of the possibilities of strategy and tactics. As becomes a national undertaking—in Japan—the whole structure is equally strong, and efficiency has breathed its vivifying breath through the whole defensive scheme. There has been no question in Japan of a policy of the development of one branch and starving of the other. To do this would mean simply to allow one section of the nation to fall behind the rest. It is not a question of theory, of the ideas of a blue-water school ; it is a vital national necessity that every part of the nation shall be kept up to the mark, although in popular sentiment the navy is not so popular a profession as the army.

The Japanese navy is manned partly by volunteers, partly by conscripts, the only difference being, as a matter of fact, that the volunteers serve longer than the conscripts. The feeling of the men in both categories is identically national. It is a curious fact that the naval authorities prefer the recruits from the towns and cities to those from the purely fishing villages, owing to their superior education and intelligence. There are several points about the navy which are well worth consideration.

The management and control of the Imperial Navy," says Vice-Admiral Saito, "is carried out under the direction of the Minister of Marine, who is appointed from the flag officers of the active list. The Minister of the Marine, being a member of the Cabinet, is directly responsible to the Emperor for all actions of the Ministry of Marine. He acts in all naval matters concerning movements of ships, schemes of mobilization, etc., in consultation with the chief of the Admiralty Staff Department. The Admiralty Staff Department is independent of the Ministry of Marine, its chief being under the direct control of H.I.M. the Emperor."

It is interesting to note that the Japanese did not long continue the practice of carrying marines on board war-ships, and did away with them many years ago. All blue-jackets are marines, and all marines are blue-jackets in the

Japanese navy. Much waste of time and energy is thus avoided, a fact which doubtless led the Admiralty to imitate the Japanese system in the new programme for the British navy. The Japanese gunner brings to his work all the natural skill of his artistic nature and inherited handiness. No Japanese is clumsy, they all have a deftness, a lightness of touch and an artistic pride of perfection, that enables them to excel in the manipulation of the machinery of guns and engines. In Japan there is no friction between the engineering officers and the executive such as exist in other navies. The engineering officers have executive rank over two sections of the crew, the men in the engine-room and the stokers. The rest of the crew is under the purely executive officers. Of course the whole of the crew is subject to the control of the captain, but save for this, the engineers have control over their own men. The Japanese have found the system to work with a minimum of friction and a maximum of good results. The captain of a Japanese warship is a most accessible man, there is none of that aloofness which forms so notable a feature in other navies, but discipline does not suffer. The captain knows that the fact that he represents the will of the nation will always ensure discipline being maintained. The Japanese crew is part of the nation just as the officers are, and there is no difference between them in essentials, however different their circumstances are. Discipline is with the men of the Japanese navy both a duty and a privilege towards the nation, and is not at all confined within the lines of the regulations. Washing decks or cooking food is a national duty just as much as fighting the ship in action. That is the dominant keynote of the Japanese naval service, and it is this which has rendered the Japanese navy so immensely formidable ! The men and the officers alike have a thirst for knowledge, and generally the periods of repose are spent poring over books on navigation or kindred subjects. Books are always in demand, and the

study is serious and thorough. The standard of education amongst the warrant officers is very high, and it is therefore not surprising to hear of the Japanese warrant officer who, when captured at Port Arthur, confessed to being able to speak English after refusing to answer questions, "Because it would have been shameful for the enemy to think that the Japanese blue-jackets did not know at least one foreign language." In the navy, as elsewhere, education plays a very important part, being regarded as the foundation of all progress."

Dashing—filled with courage owing to the divine stirring of patriotism—the officers and men of the Japanese navy are excellent in every way, since to courage they add science, and to science humanity. Submarines never lack volunteers, torpedo-vessels are regarded as the most desirable craft to serve on, and, generally speaking, the Japanese naval men seek to allow their ceaseless work for the nation the fullest scope.

The Japanese blue-jacket is abstemious and temperate. The dietary of the navy, just as in the case of the army, is laid down on scientific lines, to enable the best health to be maintained. Every care is taken to ensure the men having enough both as to quantity and quality, and it is firmly believed that the best is the cheapest in the long run. Before battle the men are made to wash in disinfectants, and wear clean clothes in order to minimize the chances of blood poisoning and death from wounds. The sanitary arrangements are excellent, and the percentage of deaths from disease, even during war-time, is remarkably little. The latest ideas of naval construction have been adopted, and the majority of Japanese men-of-war have been provided with a very considerable amount of armour protection for the gun crews.

The necessity for a rapid construction of war-vessels has led to the greater portion of the Japanese navy up to the present being built abroad, principally in British yards.

The supervision of the warships built abroad is most complete, numbers of highly competent Japanese officers living with the growing vessels, and seeing to every detail. The Japanese naval authorities, for instance, detached officers who had served on the warships in the engagements before Port Arthur and elsewhere, to come to England as ordnance inspectors for the two new battleships building at Barrow and Elswick. Officers from the battle of the Sea of Japan were also detached almost as soon as the last gun was fired. The Japanese insistence upon excellence has enabled them to obtain better warships than the British Admiralty itself.

The training of the Japanese navy officer is very thorough, as may be judged by the following brief account from the pen of Vice-Admiral Saito, the Vice-Minister of Marine :—

“In the Imperial Japanese navy the naval cadets are appointed by competitive examination, which is open to the sons of all Japanese subjects. The entrance examination is held, at present, in nineteen of the principal towns of the country, under the supervision of the superintendent of the Naval College. The number of cadetships available for the year having been previously gazetted by the Minister of Marine, applications are made to the superintendent of the Naval College through the local authorities within the specified limit of time. A candidate must not be under sixteen or over twenty years of age. A candidate who has passed the course of the Middle School is examined in mathematics, Japanese composition, English, and Chinese ; but a candidate who has not passed through the Middle School is examined in the following subjects: Japanese composition, mathematics, English, Chinese, geography, history, physics, chemistry, and drawing ; also, if the candidate desires, in French, German, or Russian. Successful candidates become naval cadets and join the Naval College at Yetajima, on the Inland Sea

near the Kure naval station. The travelling-money to the college is paid, and at the college everything is provided by the Government. The cadets remain in the naval college three years, and are instructed in seamanship, navigation, higher mathematics, English, physics, chemistry, gunnery and torpedoes, steam engineering, etc. After having passed the final examination successfully they are appointed to the sea-going training-ships as midshipmen. At the end of eight months' cruising the midshipmen are examined in what they have learnt on board, and then transferred to a commissioned ship, generally appointed among the ships of the squadron, and after four months, if favourably recommended by the captain of the ship, are commissioned as sub-lieutenants. Promotion of naval officers is entirely by selection, and the list of candidates deserving that honour is decided upon by the Board of Admirals, which meets once a year. This Board is composed of eight or nine members, but when setting to decide the list of promotions, all the commanders-in-chief of naval stations and the squadrons, with the senior officers of the different branches, such as engineers and medical corps, etc., are summoned, and the Minister of Marine takes the chair. Officers of the following rank who have been on duty for the specified number of years are eligible for nomination: Sub-lieutenants, one year; lieutenants, junior grade, two years; lieutenants, five years; commanders, two years; captains, junior grade, two years; captains, two years; rear-admirals, three years.

"The appointment of engineer students is effected in the same manner as the appointment of naval cadets, but the age of candidates must not be under sixteen years of age or over twenty-one. The student joining the naval college of engineering remains three years and four months, going through a course of advanced mathematics, physics, chemistry, theory of the steam-engine, etc. They also

receive practical training in the engineering workshops of the Yokosuka Dockyard, receiving instruction in iron shipbuilding, the working of marine engines and boilers, the practical use of the various instruments used in the engine-room, as well as in the construction and working of electric light, torpedo, and gun machinery. The student successfully passing the final examination becomes a probationary assistant engineer of the navy, and is appointed to a sea-going training-ship, where he receives the practical training necessary for a man-of-war. After eight months' training on board, the students are examined and commissioned as assistant engineers, gaining the succeeding steps of promotion, as in the case of executive officers. Advanced instruction for naval officers and engineers is given at the Naval Academy situated at Tokyo. It is conducted by a rear-admiral superintendent and several instructors and officers of different ranks, as well as a staff of professors."

Sir Cyprian Bridge, who speaks necessarily with authority on such matters, believes that he has discovered the reason for the ability of the Japanese naval men to triumph so signally over difficulties. "This," he says, "will be found in the wide comprehensiveness of their culture. Admitting the necessity of special studies, they have remained the masters and have not become the slaves of specialization. The narrow curricula of specialized branches have been kept subordinate to a general culture-imparting system of education. Instruction in every special subject is practically conveyed to them in the vehicle of a learned language. Being present when lectures were being given in Japanese to naval students, I was struck by the frequency, with which English terms—'melting-point,' 'calorific effect,' etc.—occurred. This must tend to brace the intellectual faculties and to develop mental flexibility. Owing to the long duration of the feudal system and the repeated predominance of great families in Japan, the

national history is remarkably varied, and a knowledge of it is, judged by our standard, extraordinarily widespread among the Japanese. This must go a long way towards correcting the stunting influence of narrow specialism. A very short visit to Japan will convince any one of ordinary powers of observation that æsthetic culture is general. If we consider carefully what the Japanese navy has done, we can hardly fail to admit the potency, even in naval affairs, of general culture; and we should be wise if we were to lay to heart the lesson that our allies are teaching us."

Promotion from the ranks to commissions is not possible, the only exception being in the case of warrant officers of long and excellent service, they being promoted to sub-lieutenants on retirement from the service. In the navy, after a certain point has been reached in the promotion of officers, merit, judged by a competent board of naval officials, alone secures advancement.

It is not only in the construction of warships that Japan wishes to be self-contained and self-sufficient, war material of all sorts, supplies and clothing, guns and rifles, arms and ammunition, all these are manufactured to an astonishing extent. And every year the powder factories, the Shimose explosive factory, the rifle and gun shops, all are being constantly expanded, extending the Japanese production of Japanese *matériel de guerre*.

Japan's military and naval greatness is the result of the nation's determination to be fitted to defend the country and to be able to secure its best interests. It is no sentiment of part of the people only, it is the whole nation undertaking a task which affects every unit of it, and of which each one is proud to bear his or her share. The only traditions which exist in Japan, in the army and navy, are the finest and most potent ones which teach love of country and loyalty to the Emperor—there is no fetish-worship of buttons and shoulder-straps.

Universal service by all the people, systematized by conscription, is the foundation, with education, of Japan's army and navy. Soldiers and sailors are looked upon with respect and envy, as fortunate beings whom fate has destined to serve the nation actively.

Training and national spirit are much in the development of the Japanese army, centred as they are in the Emperor. To rescue the portrait of the Emperor from loss has always been the first thought of Japanese officers on a sinking warship, and it is no exaggeration to say that the Emperor's interest lights up every detail of army and navy life. The sentiment felt in the services may be gauged by Admiral Togo's reply to the Imperial message of commendation after the battle of the Japan Sea. This ran—

“That we have gained success beyond our expectation is due to the brilliant virtue of your Majesty, and the protection of the spirits of your Imperial ancestors, and not to the action of any human being. We shall be faithful and answer to the Imperial will.”

Belief in the power of the Imperial ancestors and the Emperor never prevents the Japanese from fitting himself in the best possible manner to do his share.

CHAPTER XIV

HUMANE WAR

“The foe that strikes thee, for thy country’s sake,
Strike him with all thy might ; but as thou strik’st,
Forget not still to love him.”*

THE Japanese soldier, it has been said, makes war as becomes a gentleman. War, as war, may be necessary to Japan, but it will never be anything but distasteful to the Japanese people. They are by nature and by habit peaceful and averse to the spilling of blood. They are an educated people, who have been taught to think, and therefore can understand what war is ; their patriotism and their loyalty makes them the finest soldiers in the world, and their efficiency makes them as formidable as a relentless machine, but they are not a bloodthirsty people. Formerly, perhaps, when the Japanese armies were drawn from hereditary fighting families, there was more keenness for the fray, but now the greater number of conscripts are drawn from the agricultural classes, who have in many instances never seen blood spilt, even for purposes of acquiring food. They have not become, even unconsciously, accustomed to blood by the Western method of display of raw flesh outside butchers’ shops. The Japanese people are a happily dispositioned race, loving flowers and sunshine, and this temperament cannot fail to have a great effect on their conduct in war. Besides their natural

* Poem composed by H.I.M. the Emperor of Japan, translated by A. Ll.

desire to be humane, they have a great natural determination that this war shall show Japan as a model to the world.

Japanese representatives were present at the International Conference at the Hague in 1899, and assisted to draw up the revised rules of warfare. Of all the nations signatory to that convention, Japan alone has put the rules into practice in more than a perfunctory way. Comparisons are odious, but it is an interesting commentary upon the comparative progress of civilization in Japan and the country over which the initiator of the Hague Conference rules. Japan has observed the rules, though her own military regulations were equally advanced and far-reaching in their scope. Russia, with the conventions, has not been able to manage some of their simplest provisions. To take one instance only, that of letters from prisoners. The Russian prisoners could send and receive letters, subject, of course, to certain regulations. The letters were censored, or, rather, passed by a Japanese officer conversant with the Russian language. But in Russia, though the Japanese prisoners were allowed to write their letters, these letters were gathered together and destroyed by the Russian authorities, because there was no censor able to read Japanese. The worst feature of this abominable practice is that the prisoners were not told of the fate of their letters, but waited week by week, month by month, for the answers from their homes, which never came. Cases might be added to this, but it is with no desire to criticize Russia that even this comparison is given, it is only to afford some sort of background on which the Japanese humane conduct might be the more clearly seen.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Japanese have left nothing undone which might alleviate the horrors of war. Hating war, when it is forced upon them, the Japanese determine to wage it in as humane a way as possible. Even the Japanese bullets, with their small calibre, aid this

humane determination, since they disable rather than kill those against whom they are directed. The wounds made by these bullets heal easily, and many marvellous cases of recovery are recorded. Of course, it may be said that humanity was not the reason for the choice of this bullet, but that is no reason to assume that the humane results were not weighed in the balance.

"The truth is," says a Japanese writer, "that Japanese soldiers are taught to be humane, for every Japanese child is brought up to believe in kindness to animals, and warned that he must never be cruel to any living thing. The injunction dates back to the days when the Buddhist faith held greater sway, for in those days, when Buddhism was at the zenith of its influence in Japan, even Imperial decrees were often issued forbidding wanton *sessho*, *i.e.* killing the living. This sentiment seems to have been engrafted in the minds of the Japanese in general, and the fact is often noticed by the Western writers who visited Japan. But the reluctance to take advantage of, or show disrespect to fallen or wounded foe, comes also from yet another source, for in Bushido, or principles of Japanese knighthood, of which something has been said already, compassion for a beaten or surrendered foe forms one of the most conspicuous features, and the influence of Bushido has never been more exemplified, perhaps, than in these modern days of scientific slaughter."

It is not only the Japanese soldier who is humane, it is the Japanese people and the Japanese Government. This was strikingly shown by the proclamation sent broadcast through the country by the Ministry of Education in Tokyo at the outbreak of war. In this it was pointed out that this war with Russia was not between individuals, but between Governments, and that therefore it was the duty of every Japanese subject to treat any Russian not engaged in the conflict as a friend, and not as an enemy. This spirit was not confined to Japan, but accompanied the

soldiers and camp-followers to Manchuria and to Korea. Japanese humanity has been demonstrated before this war, and even before the Hague Conference legitimized humanity, if it did not enforce it. The Chinese war was marked by a most remarkable incident, and one which was unprecedented in history.

The following proclamation was issued by Count (now Marquis) Oyama, on his taking command of the Japanese forces in the Chino-Japanese war:—"Belligerent operations being properly confined to the military and naval forces actually engaged, and there being no reason whatever for enmity between individuals because their countries are at war, the common principles of humanity dictate that succour and rescue should be extended even to those of the enemy's forces who are disabled either by wounds or disease. In obedience to these principles, civilized nations in time of peace enter into conventions to mutually assist disabled persons in time of war without distinction of friend or foe. This humane union is called the Geneva Convention, or, more commonly, the Red Cross Association. Japan became a party to it in June, 1886, and her soldiers have already been instructed that they are bound to treat with kindness and helpfulness such of their enemies as may be disabled by wounds or disease. China, not having joined any such convention, it is possible that her soldiers, ignorant of these enlightened principles, may subject diseased or wounded Japanese to merciless treatment. Against such contingencies the Japanese must be on their guard. But at the same time they must never forget that however cruel and vindictive the foe may show himself, he must, nevertheless, be treated in accordance with the acknowledged rules of civilization; his disabled must be succoured, and his captured kindly and considerately protected. It is not alone to those disabled by wounds or sickness that merciful and gentle treatment should be extended, similar treatment is also due to those who offer

no resistance to our arms. Even the body of a dead enemy should be treated with respect. We cannot too much admire the course pursued by a certain Western country, which in handing over an enemy's general complied with all the rites and ceremonies suitable to the rank of the captive. Japanese soldiers should always bear in mind the gracious benevolence of their august Sovereign, and should not be more anxious to display courage than charity. They have now an opportunity to afford practical proof of the value they attach to these principles."

Though China observed none of the conventions of civilized warfare, the Japanese humanity was not affected. The Chinese prisoners were treated so well that to this day the uniform of a Japanese army surgeon is welcomed throughout North China. At the time of the war a Japanese visitor to one of the hospitals, where fifty wounded Chinese were located, wrote as follows:—

"They are well provided for, well cared for, and, moreover, are daily receiving not merely kind words, but cakes and candies from our benevolent ladies. When my father asked them what they thought of our treatment, one of them promptly wrote on paper (as we cannot understand each other except in writing) these words, 'I cannot realize whether we are still in this wicked world or in that holy paradise.' Another wrote, 'As your Government does not cause us to cut off our queues, I suppose that we shall all be sent back to China as soon as peace is restored. I have a wife, four children, and a father eighty years old, who surely believe me dead long since; how they will be surprised when they see me alive once more!'"

The Boxer outbreak again afforded Japan an opportunity of demonstrating the humanity of her warfare. Fighting with the best of the allies, the Japanese soldiers yet always endeavoured to cease all warlike methods, when the fighting was over. The Japanese quarter in Peking was crowded by Chinese, while many of the

quarters controlled by the other nationalities were deserted. On every occasion possible of observation Japan has shown herself in the forefront of civilization when it came to the question of humanity.

Within a week of the outbreak of hostilities with Russia, the Japanese Government issued regulations for "The Treatment of Prisoners," and established a "Bureau of Information for Prisoners of War" on February 29, 1904. This bureau was formed in conformity with the resolutions adopted at the Hague Conference, and was the first ever to be established in any country. It is significant of the importance attached to this bureau, that General Istsimoto, the Vice-Minister of War, was placed at the head of affairs. The work undertaken by the bureau was announced as follows:—

"Making full investigation into the antecedent and present condition of each prisoner; making individual badges; receiving and answering communications relating to the prisoners; receiving, transmitting, and distributing gifts of money and other presents sent for their use; sending letters, remittances, and presents from the prisoners to their relatives and friends; taking charge of articles, papers, and testamentary documents left by deceased prisoners of war, and transmitting them to their representatives or heirs-at-law; collecting information from our forces in the field respecting any of the enemy's troops who have died on the field of battle, and answering any correspondence concerning them, and taking charge for due transmission of any articles or written papers found upon their persons. The bureau is ready to communicate with Government Departments, military corps, or individuals, and in any language. All that any one needs do to obtain information respecting any one who is a prisoner, or supposed to be a prisoner, is to send the person's name in a letter addressed to Fuyo Joho-Kioku, Tokyo, Japan. The bureau will then send back particulars about the man,

and, should he have had the misfortune to die, will forward any papers or other valuables that he may have left behind him. The bureau hopes that it will receive many communications of this kind, and thus be able to relieve the anxieties of many Russian families who are anxious to hear of missing sons or brothers. All letters, parcels, and postal orders relating to prisoners of war will, in accordance with the provisions of the Convention, be sent free of charge, provided that they are marked *Service des prisonniers de guerre*, and provided the sender belongs to one of the countries that signed the Convention. Articles for prisoners of war pass free of duty in Japan."

During the whole of the war, the bureau, working in conjunction with its representatives at the front, forwarded to St. Petersburg the belongings of the Russian dead, collected and preserved with care. The relief of the families of the killed and wounded in having certain news of their relations must have received additional consolation in the possession of the articles belonging to those whom they would never see again. This humane action on the part of the Japanese so impressed General Kuropatkin that, some time after the commencement of the war, he expressed a desire that such a bureau might also be founded on the Russian side!

Baron Suyematsu gives the following *résumé* of the additional functions of this bureau :—

"Investigating circumstances of detention or removal of prisoners, reception into hospital, or disease, of any one of them, and the compilation of proper records concerning each. Correspondence with regard to condition of prisoners. Due attention to delivery or despatch of money or other articles sent to or by the prisoners. Retention in safe custody of the testaments or other articles or money left by prisoners who die, and for the subsequent despatch of this property to the families or relatives of the dead. Whenever information is acquired by army or naval

authorities concerning a fallen enemy, or any property of those killed in battle, or who otherwise die, is recovered, the course pursued is to be similar to that followed in the case of a prisoner. The Board has authority to obtain from the naval, military, or hospital authorities, or any other kindred institution, all needful information that they may possess in order to enable the Board to perform its allotted functions."

The following interesting details as to the despatch of letters through the bureau were given in a Japanese newspaper: "According to the returns of December 31st last, no less than 8383 letters were sent home by 3789 prisoners, then in this country, during the three months commencing in October, while 2866 letters were received during the same period. All these communications are, of course, examined by our authorities before they are forwarded to the respective addressees; but the letters are very leniently dealt with, and are never seized unless they are written in cipher or other symbol thought to convey a secret message."

Writing of the regulations for the treatment of prisoners, an authority thus enumerates their salient features: "(a) The prisoners of war shall be treated with humane consideration; no insult or cruelty shall be perpetrated upon them. (b) They shall be dealt with in careful conformity to their rank and position. (c) Save where imposed by military discipline, they shall not be subjected to physical restraint. (d) They shall enjoy freedom of conscience, and in virtue thereof shall be at full liberty to attend the religious services of their own faith, so long as in doing so they do not infringe the requirements of army discipline. Should a prisoner be insubordinate, he naturally must be subjected to disciplinary measures, according to the circumstances of his offence, and so also must a prisoner who attempts to escape, or who may actually for a time contrive to get away and is retaken; but no criminal

punishment shall be inflicted on account of such escape. Offences of prisoners are dealt with and punished in conformity with the established rules of the Military Court."

How thoroughly the humane ideas are carried out may be seen by the following extracts from the regulations. It is not too much to assert that these regulations are not only carried out to the letter, but also in the spirit.

"Arms, ammunition, and all articles of warlike character carried by the prisoners shall be confiscated, but other articles shall either be kept in safe custody on behalf of the prisoners or left with them to carry on their own persons, as expediency may dictate. Prisoners of officers' rank may be allowed to carry their swords, or even any other weapons, according to circumstances, but in the case of firearms, the powder and bullets used in them shall be removed for safety's sake. The commander of an army corps, or division, may arrange with the enemy for the transfer of sick or wounded prisoners, or for their exchange, or he may discharge prisoners on parole of not again taking part in the present war. Prisoners who may be possessed of officers' rank shall be transported to their place on internment separately from the common soldiers. Prisoners captured by the navy shall be handed to the military authorities. (This regulation was introduced, no doubt, to save the trouble and expenses of caring for them separately, under a distinct organization.)

"The military authorities shall provide suitable places for the internment of prisoners ; soldiers' barracks, temples, or other convenient buildings are to be used for this purpose. Prisoners shall be suitably allotted to different rooms, not huddled together indiscriminately, a certain number to each apartment, as may be convenient, and the rank and position of the prisoners shall be taken into consideration when thus allotting their quarters. Each room shall appoint from among its inmates one person to be their chief, who shall be responsible for peace

and good order among them, and shall be spokesman for his fellow-prisoners. Prisoners may purchase with their own money any articles that they may fancy or that may add to their comfort, subject, of course, to the approval of the superintending officer. Prisoners may receive or send telegrams or letters, subject, of course, to the approval of the superintending officer ; but no cypher or suspicious communication of any sort can be permitted to pass. The postal matter sent to or from prisoners is free of charge, in accordance with the postal convention rules.

“Any articles or money retained for safe custody by the authorities shall be returned to the prisoners on their discharge. Any articles or money belonging to a prisoner who may die shall be forwarded to the Prisoners' Intelligence Board. Perishable goods shall be sold, and the value in money so recovered shall be transmitted to the Board, to be dealt with in due course. The testaments found on prisoners who die shall be treated in precisely the same manner as those found on Japanese soldiers, and are to be sent to the Prisoners' Intelligence Board.

“The custody of prisoners may, by a special provision, be delegated to a legally established philanthropic association. (This is no other than the Red Cross Society of Japan.) For each pair of prisoners having officers' rank, one common soldier shall be selected from among the prisoners to serve in the capacity of personal attendant.

“Prisoners of officers' rank may be permitted to take an outdoor stroll regularly on their making solemn promise not to run away nor to transgress the disciplinary rules. Common soldiers also may be given this degree of liberty, provided that no difficulty is experienced in keeping them in order in consequence thereof.”

Minute provision is made in the regulations as regards the food and clothing of prisoners, for their beds and dressing-tables, for medical attendance, and travelling expenses, and for funeral expenses in the event of their

decease. "The burial of dead prisoners is to be conducted with due military honours, according to the rank and position of the deceased. They shall be interred in one part of our military cemeteries, or a special plot of land shall be allotted for this purpose, according to circumstances. The mode of burial shall, as a rule, be that adopted in the ordinary interment of corpses."

The qualifying phrase, "as a rule," here inserted appears to indicate that whereas under some conditions—such as when medical precautions demand special treatment, in cases of infectious disease—Japanese law requires that the bodies of persons who thus die shall be cremated, a similar rule shall apply to the corpses of prisoners of war.

With reference to the food of the prisoners, it is decreed that, "The captives shall be given rations consisting of the articles of diet mentioned in Schedule No. 2,* in accordance with the amount of money mentioned in Schedule No. 1 † of the table given below. The meals for the captives of the rank of officers shall be prepared by their servants (whose number may be increased within certain limits in case of necessity). As for the rank and file, they shall do

* SCHEDULE NO. 2.

Articles of Diet and their Quantity. Per Person per Day.

	Officers and their equals.	Non-commissioned officers and men.
Bread	1½ kin	1½ kin
Animal food (meat, fish, or poultry)	100 monme	50 monme
Vegetables	120 „	80 „
Table salt	5 „	5 „
Sugar	4 „	3 „
Appetisers	Some	Some

NOTE.—This schedule is meant to give a general idea. Should local requirements demand it, the quantities may suitably be altered, and if need be wheat or rice may be used in place of bread.

† SCHEDULE NO. 1.

Daily Ration Allowance.

Officers and their equals	60 sen
Non-commissioned officers and men, each	30 „

their own cooking, forming themselves into groups for the purpose. Between meals, certain quantities of biscuits, sweets or fruits, and black tea may be served to the captive officers and others, at different intervals, provided they can be supplied from the amount of money mentioned in Schedule No. 1.

The clothing and sleeping comfort of the prisoners is equally thoroughly regulated. "A bed, blankets, and a toilet-set shall be individually loaned to the captives of the rank of sergeant-major and above. To non-commissioned officers and men, blankets or wadded quilts may be loaned individually, and toilet-sets in groups. As for wearing apparel, each captive shall use what he possesses, but when his clothes wear out a new suit (providable as per Schedule No. 3,* subjoined table) shall be lent to a captive of the rank of officers or above, and a second-hand suit to a non-commissioned officer or a private. In case of necessity, however, a new suit (providable as per Schedule No. 3, subjoined table) may be loaned to a non-commissioned officer or a private."

* SCHEDULE No. 3.

New Supply of Wearing Apparel.

	General officer and equals.	Superior officers and equals.
Head-gear and suit of clothes—		
Winter	30 yen	25 yen
Summer	12 „	10 „
Underwear, etc.—		
Winter	5 „	4 „
Summer	2½ „	2 „
	Ordinary officers and equals.	Non-commissioned officers and men.
Head-gear and clothes—		
Winter	15 yen	8 yen
Summer	6 „	3 „
Underwear, etc.—		
Winter	3 „	83 sen
Summer	1½ „	83 „

NOTE.—Boots and shoes according to their actual cost.

"The wearing apparel mentioned in the preceding rule may be given to their wearers on the occasion of their release or death. Expenses required for the mending of the captives' wearing apparel and other articles of consumption shall be defrayed according to actual cost within the limits mentioned in Schedule No. 4 * below. The expenses required for the medical treatment of the captive patients shall be defrayed according to actual cost. As for bedding and camping articles, they shall be provided from out of the goods in store, and the expense of maintenance shall be defrayed according to actual cost. As for fuel used for heating purposes, the expenses required thereby shall be defrayed according to actual cost, taking Table 24 of the Army Supply Ordinance for its scale. When it becomes necessary for a captive to go on a journey, his fare, either by ship, carriage, or horse, shall be defrayed at actual cost within the amount of money mentioned in Table 4 of the Regulations for Army Travelling."

All the places of imprisonment were chosen with care, and special precautions were taken that they should be in healthy districts. Much stress was laid by the Japanese authorities in choosing sites for prisons upon the necessity for the buildings to possess beautiful views, believing that the beauties of nature would soften the rigours of forced confinement. In many cases the prisoners received their first elementary education in their own language, and were able to write to their relations at home from their prison. One Russian officer translated Dr. Nitobe's book on Bushido into Russian during his captivity. Some side-

* SCHEDULE NO. 4.

*Allowance for the Maintenance of Wearing Apparel and Articles of Consumption,
per month.*

Higher officers and equals	5 yen
Officers and equals	3 „
Non-commissioned officers	1 „
Privates	50 sen

lights upon the happy condition of the Russian prisoners in Japan may be gathered from the following extracts from the reports of eye-witnesses.

Dealing with the first arrival of Russian prisoners, Miss Frances Parmelee, an American medical missionary, wrote: "If the prisoners entered Japan with fear and trembling as to their fate—and some of them asked as they landed at Mitsu if they were soon to be beheaded—they were doubtless assured of the kindly and sympathetic feeling of the common people who came to this back wall and tossed over oranges, grape fruit, cigarettes, parched-bean cakes, etc. My own cook came home one Sunday afternoon with a gleam of satisfaction in her eye, as she told half under her breath, 'I bought some cakes, parched beans, and cigarettes, and threw them over the walls to the Russians ; some of them struck on their heads, which they laughingly rubbed, saying, "Thank you," and looking glad.' But I doubt if they enjoyed it any more than she did."

That this treatment was not extraordinary, owing to the novelty of the first arrivals, may be gathered from the following account of the arrival of some hundreds of Russian prisoners from Port Arthur: "On arrival at Moji, they were welcomed by the mayor and aldermen of that city, and the members of the Patriotic Ladies' Association. This cordial reception gave an exceedingly favourable impression to the Russians. Some 2000 Russian prisoners were brought to Ujina on the 11th. The landing took place from early in the morning of the 12th. The Russian soldiers were divided into groups of 120 men, each group being guarded by an armed Japanese soldier. After landing, a non-commissioned Russian officer in each group was handed a sabre and appointed commander of the group. He was ordered to take the roll-call of the prisoners, fix their numbers, and conduct them to the bath-room. Fifteen minutes were allowed for the bath, and there were salt-water as well as fresh-water baths. The soldiers

were also supplied with soap." There were several generals amongst the prisoners, and the Japanese authorities gave one of those instances of kindly thought which lift their treatment of the prisoners so far above the mere carrying out of regulations. All these generals had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general before the capitulation, but they were ignorant of the promotion until then. At Nagoya they were treated as lieutenant-generals, and permitted for the time being to either walk or ride in carriages through the streets.

The *Japan Times* thus sums up the humane treatment employed towards the prisoners: "Our authorities not only accord to prisoners the treatment due to their rank, but they do their utmost to conduce to their comfort. Several times a month the Russians are allowed to walk in the streets or visit the hot springs in the neighbourhood of their quarters. It is true that the necessary regulations for the control of prisoners are enforced, but the men are generally given full liberty as long as they prove obedient. Besides all the necessities of existence in the matter of food and clothing, the Russian officers in detention are given a certain monetary allowance to meet their sundry expenses, the amount being deemed more than sufficient to meet their requirements in this country, where the prices of commodities are comparatively low. As the Russian officers from Port Arthur each possess a considerable amount of money, some of them decline the allowance from our authorities. But the prisoners of this description only number fourteen in all. As for the Russian non-commissioned officers and men, they are quite contented with the liberal and considerate treatment they receive. Some of them appreciate the Imperial Government's liberality so much that they have of their own choice sometimes declined delicacies, asking instead for food of poorer quality. They are daily given white bread, fresh meat, fish, and vegetables. The prisoners are granted

monetary allowances, based on those received by the Japanese naval and military officers and men, and special attention is paid in regard to the supply of food. In fact, in the matter of food-supply, more money is spent than is allowed to our own officers and men, in view of the difference in customs and habits in this respect. It is quite possible that Russian officers who live in luxury at home may feel discomfort in matters of diet and living, but the majority of the Russian prisoners, including officers, have expressed their high appreciation of the treatment accorded them by our authorities."

Miss Parmelee, speaking of what she had seen during months of work in the hospital as a Red Cross volunteer, says of the care taken by the Japanese of the Russian wounded, that "the care and work of the doctors and nurses was unremitting. They unrestingly worked through the heat day after day. The appreciation of the prisoners of the work of the doctors and nurses seems very real, and, indeed, it would seem that no one could come even slightly in contact with Surgeon-General Kikuchi without being impressed by his genuine kindness and gentleness, as well as by his ability. The same might be said of the doctors and nurses. One doctor said to one as he was dressing a wound, 'I know no difference; I feel as if we were all one, as I am with them (the Russians) every day.'"

As to the work to be done by prisoners, says Baron Suyematsu, it was foreshadowed in the regulations first issued for their treatment that separate regulations might be issued if it became necessary to do so, and accordingly they were promulgated on September 16, 1904. Under these rules suitable work may be apportioned to the prisoners, but those of officers' rank may not be set to labour save at their own express desire. In any case the tasks allotted are never to be such as would be derogatory to the dignity or social status of the prisoners in their own

land. A fixed tariff, according to which the prisoners are to be remunerated for the work they execute, is appended to the regulations. The monies thus earned are in every instance appropriated to the benefit of the earners, partly to the purchase of extra comforts during detention, and the remainder held in trust for him against the day of his release, when it will be made over to him intact.

Another touching example of Japanese kindness occurred on Easter Sunday, 1904. The Japanese Emperor, to whom Easter means nothing as a religious feast, gave several of the sick prisoners ten yen each in commemoration of the day, while the Empress gave to the earliest arrivals at the Red Cross Hospital an artificial leg, arm, or eyes to those who lacked them. Their kindness was not confined to the earliest arrivals only, the Empress having since supplied a large proportion of the disabled prisoners with these practical evidences of her sympathy and humanity. Everything being considered, therefore, there is nothing to be wondered at in the fact that the United States Minister in Tokyo felt called upon to despatch to Washington a report informing his Government of the humane way in which Japan treated her Russian prisoners, as, for instance, allowing the latter to carry on correspondence with their friends and relatives at home, and giving them facilities in connection with their money and valuables, adding that Japan is giving effect in a perfectly satisfactory manner to all the rules applicable, and resolved upon by the Hague Peace Conference as the result of the most painstaking forethought and the most deliberate discussion taken part in by all the civilized Powers of the world.

The conditions imposed upon the prisoners were so flexible that they were easily able to abuse the privileges and take gross advantage of the liberty accorded them. The *Jiji Shimpō*, the leading Japanese newspaper, while calling upon the Government and people to unite in

giving the prisoners kind and considerate treatment, felt it necessary to warn the Japanese against the folly of over-indulgence in humanity. It stated that "some of the earlier captives on their arrival at Matsuyama were guilty of gross misconduct, even going to the length of violating a woman. No one knows but that there are among the expected new-comers some quite capable of committing similar outrages, as the Russian soldiery is composed of the most heterogeneous elements, and differ greatly in their moral and intellectual qualities. Under no circumstances, however, should such irregularities be tolerated. Sympathy and kind treatment towards a fallen foe is one thing, but encouraging lawlessness is quite another. The only result of indiscriminate leniency will be that the world at large will come to regard the kindness shown toward our prisoners as mere make-believe on our part, and not the manifestation of our genuine spirit of broad-minded humanity and fraternity. The Hague resolutions themselves recognize the justice of the maintenance of discipline, and the correction and punishment with due rigour of any acts of disobedience and violence among prisoners of war. The world should be shown that the fallen enemy nowhere else receives kindlier and more genuinely sympathetic treatment than in Japan, so long as he remains law-abiding and well-behaved, and no sterner discipline anywhere else when he forgets his position." The Russians, by their very insensibility to the kind humanity of the captors, have given to the world a proof of the leniency of the treatment accorded them.

The provisions of the Red Cross Convention have been always strictly observed, and twenty-nine prisoners belonging to the Russian naval and military medical corps, who had, through military necessity or at their own request, been temporarily detained in this country, and given equal treatment to our corresponding members, were, on October 22, 1904, sent home through the French

consul, together with twelve other disabled prisoners and an old paymaster from the sunken Russian cruiser *Rurik*.

On the field of battle, Japanese humanity is, if anything, more pronounced than at home. The action of the Japanese navy in rescuing the drowning crew of the *Rurik*, only a few weeks after the Russians had in cold blood, shelled the defenceless Japanese troops on two transports for hours on end, is a bright and glorious achievement. Some one asked Admiral Kamimura why he saved his Russian foes, when they had shown such absolute and callous cruelty toward defenceless soldiers. He replied, "Before, and at the time we are engaged in battle, we may feel a desire for revenge ; but when a vanquished foe is before us, we can but know a sense of pity. It is also international law to be merciful to a conquered foe. Moreover, I have never forgotten what I learned from the great Saigo. When the castle of Aidzu fell at the time of the war of the Restoration, Saigo, then in command of the Imperial forces, ordered all the houses of the town to be closed, that none might gaze upon the prisoners as they passed by. Again, at Hakodate, in the same war, he allowed none not immediately concerned in the surrender of the fort to witness the humiliation of the defenders." This moral humanity, which takes into consideration the feelings as well as the physical comfort of the enemy, had its counterpart in the surrender of Port Arthur, for, in concluding the terms of the surrender and taking over the fortress, the Japanese set up new standards of conduct and new rules on international morality for the world. The terms of surrender were just, and the action of the Emperor of Japan with regard to the Russian officers was generous, more especially when we consider that at the time the Japanese held at Sasebo several Russian officers, captured on the *Nigreta*, who had been dishonourable enough to break the parole which they had given in China. The terms of surrender were drawn up by a distinguished

international lawyer, Professor Nagao Ariga, who was specially attached to General Nogi's staff, to be in readiness when needed, which is but another instance of the Japanese completeness of detailed preparation. The capitulation of a large garrison of Russians to a Japanese army might well have afforded an occasion for Japanese jubilation, and the spectacle of the surrendered regiments marching out in silence is a great testimony to the generous impulses of the Japanese troops. Think for a moment what that march-out meant! For the first time for centuries an army of a European Power had surrendered to an Asiatic force, and one of which the Russians had always spoken slightly. But the Japanese did not avail themselves of the opportunity afforded to "get even." They looked on in sympathetic silence, and helped the feebler soldiers to carry their equipments. The principle of Japanese military prowess was not marred by any outward rejoicing over the fall of their erstwhile proud foes. The Japanese understand the art of fighting, while fighting is going on, to perfection, but once the battles are over, they are the personification of kindness, and their consideration to their foes is a sign of their real bravery. Eye-witnesses of the march-out of the garrison describe the spectacle as one of the most moving scenes they had ever witnessed. The Japanese troops, silent and sympathetic, feeling perhaps more deeply the sorrow of the Russians than the garrison itself, lined the route as the thousands of Russian soldiers marched out. During the whole defile there was no sign of jubilation, nothing but the most perfect courtesy, the most thoughtful consideration. The departure for Dalny of Stoessel and his officers produced the impression that it was the Russians who were the victors, so absolutely did the Japanese efface themselves.

Port Arthur affords also other examples of Japanese humanity in warfare. The long drawn-out siege, with its enormous losses of Japanese lives, did not in any way

modify the determination of the Japanese to act up to the highest instincts of humanity. In accordance with this, the Japanese General Commanding in August, 1904, sent a *parlementaire* to General Stoessel bearing the following offer with regard to non-combatants. This action was directly inspired by the Japanese Emperor, who sent to General Nogi, through Marquis Yamagata, this message : " H.M. the Generalissimo, prompted by the august wish for the cause of humanity, desires to spare the non-combatants in Port Arthur from devastation by fire and sword. In response to the above command of H.M. the Emperor, you are requested herewith to convey to Dalny those women, priests, merchants, and diplomatists and officers of neutral countries now staying in Port Arthur who desire to take refuge, and to hand them over to the commander of the harbour. Should you deem that the military operations will in no way be affected, you may take similar measures on behalf of the non-combatants in Port Arthur not enumerated above."

The text of the offer delivered to Port Arthur was as follows :—

" 1. Those who are entitled to the special favour of His Majesty the Generalissimo must be women, children under sixteen years of age, priests, and diplomatic agents and officers of neutral countries.

" 2. The reply to this memorandum shall be brought to a point five hundred metres north of Shuishiyang at 10 a.m. on the 17th inst.

" 3. The refugees shall come out, under a flag of truce, to the above said point at 2 p.m. the same day.

" 4. A body of our infantry will proceed, under a flag of truce, to the same point in order to receive the refugees.

" 5. Each refugee is allowed to take with him one piece of luggage only, which will be subjected to examination if deemed necessary.

" 6. Written documents, printed matter, papers bearing

any letters or marks, and articles connected with the war shall be prohibited from being brought out.

"7. The refugees will be sent to Dalny under protection.

"8. The reply must contain an acceptance or refusal, and no alteration of any of the above conditions will be allowed."

The humane offer was refused, but subsequently similar offers were made, so anxious were the Japanese that the non-combatants should be spared from the horrors of a general assault and bombardment.

General Stoessel having requested the Japanese not to shell the Red Cross hospitals, General Nogi took the opportunity of expressing in reply the Japanese unalterable adhesion to the rules of humanity and international conventions. The letter ran as follows:—

"I have the honour of assuring Your Excellency that the Japanese army has always respected humanity and international conventions, so that on no single instance since the beginning of the siege have our guns been ranged intentionally against buildings and vessels marked with the flag of the Red Cross. But the greater part of the interior of the fortress is invisible from the positions of our artillery, and, as we all know, the shells do not always hit the points aimed at. Moreover, owing to the long duration of your brave defence, the deviation of our artillery increases from day to day, so that to my great regret I cannot be absolutely sure that the shells do not occasionally strike at places entirely unexpected by us."

Professor Ariga, the international jurist, justified the Japanese decision that it was impossible to exempt large portions of the town from bombardment, because of the presence of some hospitals, and cited the following precedent: "During the Turkish War of 1877, the Russians themselves were accused of having intentionally fired at the siege of Nikopol, and Professor F. de Martens, himself a Russian, has no other language to explain away the

matters than the following : " D'ailleurs, on avait organisé au centre de la ville, quelques hospitaux sur lesquels était hisse un pavillon blanc avec le croissant rouge, de sort que pour épargner les endroits prohibés il ne restait aux Russes qu'a renoncer à tout acte d'hostilité."

The interchange of these communications afforded the Japanese an opportunity of giving an additional proof of the humanity with which they wage war, and their desire not to increase the sufferings of the individuals concerned in a struggle between Governments. Major Saito handed to General Balashoff five large mail bags, containing thousands of letters addressed to the officers and men in Port Arthur, which the Japanese Army had seized elsewhere. It was an act of kindness unheard of in the history of any siege, and the joy of the Russian general was intense. He said that as a return for this act of kindness on the part of the Japanese Army, he would permit the Japanese wounded soldiers in the Russian hospitals to write and send letters to their dear ones at home. Dr. Ariga, who had represented the Japanese Red Cross Society at the seventh International Conference held in St. Petersburg in 1902, congratulated General Balashoff on the important work he was doing at Port Arthur, and asked him in the name of the Japan Red Cross Society if there was anything which the latter could do for the Russian Red Cross Society in Port Arthur, as, for instance, the supplying of bandage materials, medicines, etc.

The Japanese treatment of the Russian sick and wounded at Port Arthur, as elsewhere, that *damnosa heritas* of a siege, was beyond criticism. Every care was lavished upon them, and before the fall the Japanese medical authorities had prepared stores for 20,000 men. Comparisons are odious, but it is difficult not to contrast the fate of the prisoners at Port Arthur with those of Plevna. In 1877 the surrendered Turks, after their gallant defence, were sent north, without any adequate equipment or

provision, to die by the thousand along the roads. It resembled rather the manners and customs of the Byzantine Empire, under which the conquered armies were once sent homeward through the snow, all blinded, save one man in every hundred, who had left him one eye to enable him to guide his sightless comrades.

War is war, and must be waged as such *a l'outrance*, but the moment war ceases the Japanese act towards those who have fallen into their hands as victims of such war, as if they were deserving of equal care with the Japanese soldiers who have fallen before the rifles of these very men. This is true humanity, and deserving of all praise. It is far above the humanity of those nations which, while crying for the cessation of war, wage war without any of the attempts at alleviating its horrors which should appeal in this twentieth century to everybody in the world. One result of this war will be that the conditions of warfare will be completely changed, and Japan will have taught the world a lesson of humanity that cannot fail to advance the cause of progress enormously.

A very remarkable series of regulations were issued by the Japanese Minister of War on May 30, 1904, which deal with the clearing of the field of battle after fighting has ceased, and which apply to the dead and wounded of the enemy and of the Japanese armies. The regulations are a marvel of humane thought for the living and for the dead, as well as of the sanitary requirements of the military exigencies, and deserve quotation in full. This also contains the directions for the burial of the dead in battle or who have died of disease.

"1. Immediately after an engagement, each unit should organize a detachment for clearing the field, for searching for sick, wounded, and killed, as well as for equipment, etc., left by them on the field. The higher commanding officer will appoint a special detachment to carry out this duty.

"2. The sick and wounded shall be dealt with according

to the Field Regulation of the Army Medical Service, and the killed shall be honoured and respected according to their rank, whether they belong to the Imperial army or to the enemy.

"3. As minute an examination as possible shall be made from the pocket-book, marks on uniform, identification tally, etc., as to the full name, rank, position, relatives and regiment of any one found dead.

"4. The corpses of those belonging to the Imperial army shall be cremated, while those of the enemy shall be interred, except when contagious and infectious diseases are prevalent, when all corpses, even those belonging to the enemy, shall be cremated.

"5. No burial shall be made until death has been definitely assured.

"6. The clearing detachment shall collect separately the corpses of both armies, either in one place or in several places, and mats or matting shall be spread over them. Even when corpses cannot be collected together, steps must be taken to cover them.

"7. When the necessary steps mentioned in Clause 6 have been taken, the corpses shall be separated into those belonging to the Imperial army and those belonging to the enemy, as soon as possible, and cremated or interred accordingly.

"8. As regards the selection of ground for interment, the following provisions should be noted, especially 1 and 2:—

"(1) The ground must be some distance from the road, town, village, or garrison.

"(2) The ground must be at a distance from sources of springs, streams, wells, or other sources of drinking-water.

"(3) The ground must be on high land or gentle slopes, and the soil must be loose and more or less dry.

"9. The corpses of those belonging to the Imperial army should be cremated separately, and one of the bones (the larynx) sent home.

"When circumstances prevent this being done, only the hair shall be sent home, and the bones shall be buried temporarily on the field.

"When circumstances prevent separate cremation, the N.C.O.'s and privates shall be cremated together, and the hair only sent home.

"10. The bones and hair sent home shall be buried in the cemetery at home, according to Clause 6 of the Regulations for the Burial of Soldiers.

"On application, the bones and hair may be given to the relatives of the deceased to bury.

"Remains buried temporarily in the field must be taken home eventually and buried in the cemetery at home.

"11. In the case of corpses buried under the provisions of Clause 9, the following should be noted :—

"(1) Bones of officers, warrant officers, and senior non-commissioned officers should be given separate burial.

"(2) The bones of other ranks should also be buried separately, but when circumstances do not permit, they may be buried together.

"(3) In any case, the bones of senior N.C.O.'s and warrant officers must be given separate burial.

"12. In the case of interment of corpses belonging to the enemy, the following provisions should be noted :—

"(1) The corpses of officers, warrant officers, and senior N.C.O.'s should be buried separately.

"(2) The corpses of other ranks should also be buried separately, or in numbers of less than fifty together.

"(3) The graves should be one metre deep.

"(4) The bottoms of the graves should be covered with branches of trees or straw, upon which the

corpses shall be placed, and a layer of lime, charcoal ashes, or slag shall be placed over the corpses, and all necessary sanitary precautions taken.

"(5) The earth removed in digging the graves shall be replaced over the graves so as to make a small mound.

"13. The corpses belonging to the Imperial army that are buried shall be buried according to the same instructions as in the previous clause, some of the hair from each corpse being preserved.

"14. When corpses belonging to the enemy are cremated, the bones shall be buried under the instructions contained in Clause 11.

"15. The graves of the dead of the Imperial army shall be kept separate from those of the enemy, and proper marks shall be erected over both.

"16. In every case of burial the proper funeral rites shall be observed, and shall be conducted by the Shinto or Buddhist priests, chaplains or priests of any other religion.

"17. When the corpses of inhabitants of the country are found on the field, they shall be buried as laid down for the enemy ; but should they be claimed by relatives, they shall be handed over, if possible.

"18. The personal effects of the dead of the Imperial Army shall be packed with the bone and hair, addressed with the full name and rank and regiment of the deceased, and the package forwarded to the Divisional Headquarters where the deceased was mobilized, or to the office where the organization of his corps took place.

"19. The name, age, nationality, position, rank, and regiment of the dead of the enemy shall, if known, be entered on a list, and the list shall be sent by the Divisional Headquarters, or by the officer left in command, to the Prisoners' Information Bureau at Tokyo. Personal effects,

with the exception of arms, horses, and maps, shall be packed, and the package addressed with the full name and rank of the deceased, and forwarded to the above-named office.

"20. Effects belonging to dead inhabitants of the locality shall be handed to the local authorities, the headquarters, or the troops, in order to be returned to the relatives of the deceased.

"21. Arms, provisions, horses, maps, and other articles left on the field without an owner shall be dealt with by the headquarters or troops of the district. All other articles, except those belonging to the Imperial army, shall be regarded as trophies.

"22. The manner of the burial rites, the disposal of articles belonging to the dead, according to Clause 18, the description and number of the articles, shall be reported by the headquarters of the district troops to the general officer commanding.

"23. Dead horses shall either be buried or burned, and in burying them the provisions of 3 and 4 and Clause 12 shall be noted, and special medical precautions taken.

"24. These regulations shall apply to the treatment of the dead and their effects in all places in the area of operations, even though not on the actual field of battle."

Captives taken on the battle-field and not sent to Japan are subject to the same rules of treatment as were detailed above. The persons of doctors and nurses are respected, and they are set at liberty at the earliest possible moment. The Russians acknowledged that after the battle of Mukden every care was taken of their hospital staffs left behind in the rout. The case of one Russian doctor may be cited. Dr. Matureef had lost his way, and so fell into the hands of the Japanese outposts. Having questioned him on various points, the staff adjutant told the doctor that by the rules of the International Convention he was free, and he was quartered for the night in the building occupied

by the chief of gendarmes, given good food, and well looked after. Four days afterwards he was escorted by two cavalymen towards the outposts of the Russian vanguard, the Japanese doctor of the cavalry staff thoughtfully providing him, as he explains in detail, with chicken, biscuits, lemonade, and cigarettes. When across the river separating the two armies, Dr. Matureef was given a passport, and a compass was presented to him, so that he should have no difficulty in rejoining the Russian forces, which he succeeded in doing next day.

The impartial humanity of the Japanese has been amply testified to. It might be forgiven them were their medical officers to first treat the Japanese wounded before binding up the injuries of the Russians. But they proceed absolutely regularly, taking the cases as they come, Russians and Japanese alike. As a writer in the *Kokumin Shimbun* put it, "Once the enemy fell into our hands, whether by surrender or otherwise, he was treated with consideration and care. If wounded, he received the same attention and nursing as our own. Our soldiers, when they chance upon a fallen foe, divide their rations with him, as if he were a comrade ; and the enemy's dead, when found, are always buried at our hands. As invalids in our care, the enemy is given full freedom, not only spiritually, but physically also. The enemy cannot expect, nor will we accord him, gentle treatment at our hand so long as he retains power as a fighting unit ; but once crippled or captured, he finds none but a sympathizing and ministering friend in the Japanese."

An extract from the letter of a Russian officer, who had escaped after being treated by the Japanese hospital corps, contains ample corroboration. "The Japanese doctors," says the writer, "tended our wounded equally with their own, in return for which Russian doctors taken prisoners readily attended to the Japanese. As for food, the Japanese at once recognized that their diet was unfit

for Russians, and provided suitable rations. The captive Russian officers, who were each provided with a separate tent, were requested to superintend the proper preparation of food for their fellow-prisoners."

The same writer also gives an instance of the methods of the Japanese ambulance corps in clearing the battle-field, which enables them to distinguish between the cases.

"They moved an arm or leg, or both, of the man as he lay; if there was any movement to return them, the man was picked up and set on his feet; if he managed to stand so much as a fraction of a minute, he was forthwith carried off in a dhooly to the field-hospital. Those of the wounded who were not in a state to move arm or leg were left for later rescue-parties."

Evidence could be piled on evidence as to the humanity of the Japanese, and this humanity becomes all the more admirable when it is considered that, as in the Chinese war, there has been a very serious amount of provocation to other treatment on the part of the enemy. This does not refer to the single cases of mutilation of the Japanese wounded, but rather to those wholesale brutalities of which the siege of Port Arthur furnished perhaps the most glaring instance.

"All the savagery," wrote the *Japan Mail*, in December, 1904, "all the inhuman cruelty of this combat, have been on the side of the Russians. Contrasted with the kindliness, the forbearance, the self-restraint displayed by the Japanese, the Russian record is black indeed. How has it fared with the Japanese wounded who fell under the shadow of the Port Arthur fortress? How did it fare with the Japanese surgeons and nurses who, in the security that the followers of the Red Cross should enjoy at the hand of the least civilized of peoples, essayed to succour these most unhappy victims of one of the most shockingly brutal episodes in the history of all nations? Are there, indeed any wounded Japanese in Russian hospitals? There may

be a few. We should be sorry to think that there are none. But the fact that nothing has been heard of them in all these months is ominously significant. On the other hand, there are thousands of sick and wounded Russians receiving the tenderest ministrations in Japanese hospitals."

The humanity shown to the combatants does not by any means exhaust the sentiment of the Japanese, the property of non-combatants is respected, their personal well-being is preserved, there are none of those crimes which formed so prominent a feature in the advance of the Western troops to Peking against the Boxers. Nothing was neglected during the Japanese march northward through Manchuria which would serve to reassure the Chinese inhabitants as to their security. Typical of these measures was the fact that to respect the sanctity of the place whence arose the Imperial dynasty of China, and to preserve peace and tranquillity among the Chinese inhabitants of Mukden, Marquis Oyama, in giving orders for a general pursuit on March 8, strictly prohibited his troops to take quarter within the walls of that city.

By the most scientific, most efficient medical and sanitary system, the Japanese have practically eliminated disease from their armies as well as reduced the percentage of deaths from wounds to a very small one. This humanity to their own troops is productive also of increased efficiency in the field.

The *Japan Mail* observed in November, 1904, on hearing that the number of Japanese soldiers killed in action, succumbed to wounds or disease was 20,000, and that the deaths from disease only amounted to 4000 as compared with 16,000 from the fire of the enemy, that "this is a very remarkable showing. Generally the deaths from disease far exceed those caused by bullet or bayonet, but in the case of the Japanese army the deaths from disease were only 20 per cent. of the total casualties. It is known that the Japanese medical staff have for years been

endeavouring to grapple with and solve the problem of saving armies from the disablement of disease. Reading the records of campaign after campaign since history began to be written, they appreciated that a country for which this could be accomplished would have its belligerent capacities enormously increased. If the wastage due to disease were arrested, an army would possess an immense advantage over an enemy not similarly immune. Thousands of reservists who, under the ordinary conditions of warfare, merely serve to fill vacancies caused by their sick comrades, would go to swell the fighting ranks, and by that difference the effective force of the nation would be augmented. To attain such a goal the medical staff of the Japanese army and navy have applied themselves with diligent intelligence, and although complete success has not yet crowned their efforts, they have so far succeeded as to have brought about unprecedented freedom from the maladies which usually decimate fighting forces. The whole story will be told when the war is over."

Dr. Seaman, an American medical authority, speaking at the International Congress of Military Medicine, rendered homage to the wonderful progress in the Japanese Empire. "No nation," he declared, "has shown itself more efficient in the medical art during war. The Japanese have succeeded in eliminating disease from the contingencies of war." Manchuria is an unhealthy country. They took such excellent sanitary precautions, however, that in the first six months of war only 1 per cent. of deaths was due to disease. As a rule, the loss from disease in a war is four for every soldier who is killed or dies of his wound. The Japanese sanitary officer is everywhere on the battle-field. He is to be found equally with the vanguard as with the rearguard, or with the scouts, making sure that the army does not drink impure water. The officers make microscopic and bacteriologic examinations, and have time to lecture to the soldiers upon the sanitary necessities, or the

danger of eating and drinking too much, and the value of cleanliness. In this way the Japanese prevent the disease before they have to cure it. Thanks to this vigilance, the Japanese army is able to defy disease, which is far more formidable than the cannon of the most terrible enemy. The practical elimination of the causes of death renders the Japanese army virtually four times more powerful than it is from its effective force. Dr. Seaman's tribute is a remarkable one, coming as it does from a man of science, a foreigner, and one who was rather anxious to probe into causes than praise indiscriminately.

The humanity of the Japanese Government and people also embraces care of the families of reservists—those unobtrusive hostages to national progress left in the hands of Providence by the heads of families called to the colours. Special funds are set aside for the assistance of these women and children, and popular subscriptions supplement these sums of money, for universal admiration is felt in all classes of society for these reservists—men in the prime of life, ranging in age between 32 and 37, generally the heads of and supporters of families, who responded to the call to a man. The number of their families who apply for public assistance is wonderfully small. A Tokyo newspaper ascribes this fact to their being the wives and parents of soldiers, and as such preferring to fight their struggle for existence rather than ask for help. The same paper urges the necessity of seeking out these hidden families to help them, not applying all their time to those who come and ask for assistance.

When a fighter falls on the field his family obtains from the Government a grant in debentures, the aggregate value of which ranges between the least sum of several hundred yen and several thousands of yen at the highest, according as the deceased was a private or an officer of high rank, together with a life and a decoration pension.

In granting relief to the families, there is no desire that they should be forced to accept money without doing anything in return for it, which might make them refuse from a feeling of shame. Viscount Yoshikawa, Minister of the Interior, made a special address to the prefectorial governors, and urged them to exercise a certain amount of control over the distribution of the funds.

The minister said that the great desideratum of the present moment was that the soldiers at the front should have no anxiety regarding their homes. But there were various means by which these families could be helped, and he would advise that such assistance should take the form of giving these families the means of earning their own livelihood. In this connection it was a noticeable fact that the money allotted for the benefit of the soldiers' families was disbursed in different methods, according to the prefectors. In his opinion it was not advisable that cash should be indiscriminately distributed among the families.

Popular interest in this question of the duty of the nation to the reservists and their families, as well as to the families of soldiers and sailors generally, secured a practical effort being made to meet the question. An association for the relief of those serving in the army and navy was founded, with an initial fund of £50,000, and an Imperial prince at the head of the council. "The object of this association is to give assistance to those who come under the following classification, always, however, with due consideration for the relief given by other public and private institutions:—

"1. Distressed families of men serving in the army and navy, who are killed or die while on service.

"2. Men serving in the army and navy, who become cripples while on service, as well as the families of such men, in case of distress.

"3. Distressed families of men serving in the army and

navy, whether at the seat of war, or in fortresses, garrisons, etc., or at home."

Such is the comprehensive object of this association, which is an eminently practical organization, equipped to accomplish a maximum amount of good with a minimum of red tape. The statement issued at the foundation of the association is a very interesting document.

"At this sublime moment," runs the document, "when our soldiers and marines are fighting in defence of our country against one of the great neighbouring Powers, nobody can deny that we are in the face of an extremely serious crisis, the magnitude of which is unparalleled in the history of our past. It is unquestionably a moment when the whole nation ought to stand up in the cause of the public weal. The young and robust are with the flag; they have to sacrifice all their personal interests for their country's sake. They cannot attend to their aged and decrepit parents, cannot nurse their sick and dying wives, cannot lend ear to the cries of hunger of their beloved children. Is there any one possessing the common feelings of humanity who can look with calm unconcern upon these pathetic scenes of heroic patriotism and self-sacrifice? The State must, of course, take steps to provide for those who sacrifice their family interests on the altar of their country, and we learn with pleasure that the Government is now submitting suitable projects for the consideration of the competent authorities. But we have to take into consideration the fact that any measure of relief undertaken by the State must be subject to the restraints of rule, and be governed by the general average of visible facts, so that account cannot be taken of all special circumstances in each family, or each member of a family. Besides, the amount thus granted in relief necessarily cannot be superabundant. It might be enough for families with few members in remote village regions, but it would be evidently insufficient for large families

residing in populous cities. Hence the necessity of resorting to private initiative and of supplementing these insufficiencies, correcting these inequalities, and endeavouring to meet the needs of each suffering family.

"Compatriots, it is our duty to look to the welfare of the weak who are dear to those who are spilling their blood and risking their all in defence of the honour of the nation. Let us at least endeavour to enable them to face death in their country's cause with peaceful heart—assured that the spectre of starvation will not menace the loved ones they leave behind. This is at once the duty and the privilege of their fellow-countrymen, and we appeal to the public to co-operate heartily in the discharge of the solemn obligation.

"We may add that, although this association has been founded in view of the present crisis, it may subsequently happen that the results of the work done may suggest the advisability of continuing the association as a permanent institution."

The record of Japanese humanity might be extended indefinitely, but it is complete enough to show that the people of Japan are individually, and as a nation, humane, and anxious to treat their fellow-men well. When force of circumstance bring war into their national path, the Japanese people may be trusted to wage it thoroughly, but toward the individual enemy the Japanese people, soldiers in the field and civilians at home, are friends, not enemies. Japan is the one nation which has put into force the rules of war drawn up at the Hague Conference, and even improved upon them. It has been shown that the Japanese are humane to the wounded, to the prisoners, to non-combatants, to those who have injured them, and that they remember that true charity begins at home. The success of the war with Russia, the marvellous strategy and excellent tactics shown assure Japan a brilliant page in history, but the humanity of her methods and the

brotherly feelings displayed by all her people will be one of the brightest leaves in the laurel wreath of her success. Not only have the Japanese people, true to their patriotic, their national impulse, made a new standard of humane morality in waging war, but they have shown that they understand that humanity is no mere matter of physical alleviation, but includes also mental compassion and consideration. Never before has so much refinement of consideration been shown to an enemy, and for this, even had the war not brought success to the Japanese arms, moral victory would have been the reward of Japan.

CHAPTER XV

THE RED CROSS SOCIETY

THERE is no lesson which Japan has to teach more worthy of study than the system by means of which they have turned into a practical channel the enthusiasm and the sentimental patriotic fervour of an entire people. In no single thing in Japan is there a more wonderful example of what a unanimous patriotism is capable of accomplishing, than in the Red Cross Society. Similar societies in England and other countries of the West linger on in desultory fashion during peace time, to spring into attempted efficiency in time of war. But these are but pale and colourless shadows of the real ideal, as found in Japan. If anything further were needed to dispel the altogether erroneous belief held by so many, that the Red Cross Society is an essentially Christian idea, typified by its emblem, it is this perfection of the society to be found in a country where the organization is not founded on any religious or humanitarian motives, save that fundamental one of all things Japanese, intense and practical patriotism. How paltry seem the efforts of our Red Cross Societies, who point with pride to ten or twenty or even thirty thousand members, when compared with the million members of the Japanese society! One in every forty-five of the population is a member, and has either pledged him or herself to pay annually for ten years some six shillings to the funds of the Red Cross Society, or else has paid down fifty shillings on entrance. Nor does this payment,

this earnest of the members' practical interest, do aught else save render the individual eligible for new and onerous duties towards the society. It must be remembered, also, that the time in which this enormous membership has been accumulated is only two or three decades. It has been a fair field and no favour, and amongst all the nations of the world Japan has easily excelled in the development of this organization. The value of this example must not be overlooked, since it, together with the education system, forms one of the few conditions rendering a comparison between Japan and other countries possible.

At the base of everything is found the fact that the Japanese do not regard the society as a philanthropic humanitarian organization. Religion has nothing whatever to do with the question; in a general sense it may be said that it is not only humanity, but, in point of fact, a feeling of its being a national debt which the country owes to the soldiers and sailors, which really constitutes the basis of its organization and the *raison d'être* for the existence of the society.

A society founded and organized like the Red Cross of Japan upon the sole idea of "Pay your debt to your country by helping its soldiers," can render far more effective aid than a society founded solely upon the idea of humanity to wounded enemies. It is, consequently, this adoption without hesitation of the idea expressed in the words, "The country's debt to, and the relief of, soldiers," that gives to the Japanese Society of the Red Cross its individual and special character, and renders it capable of developing with such prodigious rapidity.

In the past Japan has shown herself humane as a nation, while her people have demonstrated chivalric humanity. The origin of the Convention held at Geneva in 1864 was humanity, and it is, consequently, only natural that a society such as the Red Cross, whose task is to carry out the intention of this Convention, should

have its source in humanity. But, from a certain point of view, humanity is entirely opposed to nationality. From this divergence of foundations arises the difference to be found in the development of the Red Cross in Japan and elsewhere. Then, again, the method of working the society in Japan is different; it is a business concern run on business lines, not by philanthropic peers and commoners. The Japanese society is as efficient and as ready for instant mobilization in time of peace as are the fire brigades of an American city between the clanging of the fire-gongs in the station. Then, the effect of the interest shown by the Imperial family in the society must not be overlooked; it is doubtful whether it is possible to measure the results directly traceable to this influence.

The general outline of the organization as set out by H.I.H. Prince Kanin, in his capacity of President of the Red Cross Society in Japan, is as follows: "The society is an association established under the special auspices of Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress, and under the superintendence of the Imperial Government, being connected with similar associations abroad, and having as its object the succour of the wounded or sufferers from disease in time of war. The society, in discharging its functions on such necessary occasions, must therefore depend on the work of the nurses. This is the reason why the society has taken so much trouble in selecting and training its nurses. The society assisted the work of the Ambulance Corps during the war of 1894-5, and received on that account gracious edicts from Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress. During the North China trouble of 1900, again, we rescued and tended the sick and wounded on both sides, and earned widespread appreciation. The Imperial Ordinance of 1901, which promulgated the Japan Red Cross Society Regulations, and entitled the society's nurses to the same treatment as military officers, has increased the society's responsibility

inasmuch as it has enhanced its glory. Moreover, owing to the application of the Red Cross Convention to naval warfare, and a consequent broadening of the scope of our work, nothing can be more onerous or important than the duties of our nurses. Hereby these duties are outlined as a guide to our nurses.

"That, following the principles of the society, inspired by the humanitarian views of Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress, and embodying those of the entire members of the society, the nurses should discharge their duties with diligence.

"That, in assisting military and naval ambulance service, the regulations and discipline applicable thereto should be observed, and such virtues as obedience and respect never be lost sight of.

"That, in attending patients, no matter to which side they belong, kindness should be the guiding principle.

"That the successful discharge of such duties should be aimed at, by adhering to upright conduct, maintaining discipline, and enduring privations and want.

"That the attainment of the society's ultimate aim should be striven for, each adhering to his or her assigned duties, and acting in harmony and co-operation with the other.

"Should any one of the above instructions fail to be fulfilled, the object of military ambulance work would not be perfectly attained. It is, therefore, my earnest hope that all the nurses will always keep the above rules and principles in their minds, and endeavour to augment the prestige of the Red Cross Society of Japan by devoting themselves to the patriotic cause of the country in real earnestness."

At the time of the insurrection of 1877 in Japan, the first organization for the relief of combatants was practically commenced. It was remarkable in that no difference was made between the Imperial troops and the insurgent forces ;

the latter being considered as "revolted subjects," not the enemies of the nation, it was felt a natural duty to give them aid. In requesting authorization from the Government to proceed to the fields of battle, the society declared—

"Our gratitude to our country is great, and in order to repay a small part of the debt of gratitude which we owe to our native land, we have formed a society, with the object of sending members to the battle-field for the purpose of nursing the wounded soldiers under the direction of military and naval officers. The number of the wounded insurgents is much larger than that of the wounded soldiers belonging to the Imperial army, and their medical service is extremely defective. Their wounded are abandoned in large numbers in fields and mountains, and often remain exposed to scorching sun and rain for a long time. They certainly are traitors to their country, and their crime is unpardonable, but at the same time they are children of the Emperor and Empress, and subjects of the empire. Therefore, we cannot be so cruel as to abandon them to their fate. Hence we pray that we may be permitted to come to their aid. By giving us this permission, not only the magnanimity of our sovereign will shine in Japan and abroad, but that magnanimity will at the same time be the surest means of touching the hearts of the insurgents and teaching them their duty."

In Japan, the Emperor is the personal leader of the nation in arms, and the soldiers are his soldiers—not in theory only, but by the fact of historical tradition. Hence the nation, which loves and respects the Emperor literally, as children do their fathers, naturally loves the soldiers whom the Emperor cherishes so much, and does everything in its power to help them, in order to please the Emperor by so doing. To the Emperor are owed the independence and prosperity of the empire, which he maintains by help of his soldiers, and the best means of

paying back this immeasurable debt is to give aid to his soldiers while risking their lives on the field of battle. This is what the million members of the society have at heart. But it may be asked, Is not humanity the principle which underlies the work of the Red Cross, and is not humanity—the love of mankind in general—opposed to patriotism—the love of one's own country and its soldiers? The way in which the society answers this question is as simple as it is characteristic. There is the feeling of sympathy which makes the love for Japanese soldiers extend itself to the soldiers of the enemy. It indicates a very low stage of moral development, if the sorrow for misfortune befalling the object of love does not call forth sorrow for the misfortune of other beings placed in exactly the same situation.

It is interesting to see that, looking back on Japanese past history, the guiding principle has always been to lessen the atrocities of war, and to avoid the infliction of injuries upon the enemy, which are not essential to the attainment of the object of the war. Thus, long before the Geneva Convention was even dreamed of, Bushido had inculcated the principle of valour and mercy hand-in-hand. About 1700 years ago, when the Empress Jingo invaded Korea, she drew up five laws which were strictly enforced. The fourth article read as follows: "Nature shall not be killed." The principle of the article was that even the enemy, if powerless to resist, should be forgiven. Again, in the invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi, about 300 years ago, brutal and bloodthirsty conduct was strictly forbidden. At the same time, it was commanded that the dead bodies of the enemy should as far as possible be buried with those of his soldiers.

In 1876, while punishing the pirates of Formosa for the murder of some fishermen, the leader of the Japanese expeditionary forces ordered his soldiers to observe humane behaviour to those natives who did not fight. Notices

were posted up throughout Formosa, ordering that all the wounded and sick people, irrespective of their social standing, should receive every attention.

"In performing this act of charity," writes Baron Ishigoro, "we were by no means actuated by ambitious motives, nor did we act thus for the sake of reward and applause. Indeed, we did not adopt this policy merely in view of considerations of mutual relationship. It was because of the sympathetic nature of our people, together with the recognition by the Emperor and his general that such charitable conduct was based upon human nature, and was enjoined by the principles of true morality."

The same authority thus describes the humane work carried on during the Chino-Japanese War, when the Japanese troops were brought into contact with a barbarous foe who felt no obligations to respect any rules. "Love and valour are instinctive in us. However cruel and inhumane our foes might be, we should forget their evil conduct, and treat them kindly. Moved by these and other considerations, we made up our minds to carry out our work." The following three points received special attention:—

"1. That though the military physicians were well versed in the principles of the Red Cross Society, and devoted themselves in earnest to them, special care should be taken on this occasion, since we had to deal with those who were not members of the Red Cross Alliance.

"2. That soldiers should be well taught in the principles of this work, but that they should march to the field with great caution, since their foes were totally ignorant of them.

"3. Special plans must be adopted for impressing upon the minds of the enemy the principles of the Red Cross work."

As the field sanitary physician-in-chief, Baron Ishigoro issued instructions to the military physicians, covering

thirty articles, to which the following special articles were appended :—

“1. You must not forget that you have to do with a class of people who are outside the Red Cross Treaty, and whose barbarity is a matter of history and well known to the world. You must not leave the wounded in the field, as sometimes happens in a manœuvre, lest they should receive cruel treatment at the hands of the enemy.

“2. It is not necessary to dwell upon the barbarous conduct of our enemy, but we, on our part, must show them every possible kindness. There may be many ways for doing this, but nothing will be so effective for the purpose as the medical treatment of the sick and wounded. Moreover, T.I.M. the Emperor and the Empress are always rich in mercy, and their faithful subjects share, if we may so speak, their spirit to some extent. Gentlemen, you must bear these instructions in mind.”

The following proclamation was posted up in various languages throughout the land :—

“We herewith proclaim to the inhabitants of Korea and China that our Imperial army has visited this place, partly for the sake of self-protection, and partly to show our friendship. Butchery and murder are not our object. Certainly innocent non-combatants will not be molested. You need not fear or run away from the battles, but remain at your posts, continuing to pursue your accustomed callings. Our military discipline is strict. If any one is guilty of plundering, come and tell us. A non-combatant who has given any advantage to the enemy forfeits the privilege given him ; he will be treated as our enemy. We know no mercy for such persons. Beware of performing deeds which might bring harm upon yourselves. We shall give the sick and wounded soldiers, and those who are incapable of fighting, medical treatment so far as possible. The places where our physicians are stationed are marked with a banner upon which the sign

of the Red Cross is painted. Those who are sick and wounded should come to those stations for treatment. Remember that deceivers will receive no mercy."

Thus patriotism and humanity unite in all that concerns the aid of the sick and wounded soldiers. The state of a nation in war is not exactly what makes opportune and fruitful of results the preaching of humanity, pure and simple, whereas patriotism and love of the Emperor and his soldiers are motives always existing to which to appeal at the moment of national danger.

The keynote of the Japanese Red Cross organization is centralization. In Japan, says Professor Ariga, only one Red Cross Society was created for the whole of the empire, with its headquarters in Tokyo. The local sections afterwards formed in the prefectures have no separate existence, but are entirely subject to the will and control of the central governing body in all that concerns the finance and the work of preparation and relief in time of peace and war. The chief business of the local sections is the recruiting of the members and the gathering of the subscriptions, but the income so obtained is taken into the central treasury, a comparatively small portion only being left for the use of the local sections. A portion of the *personnel* and supplies of the society is provided for in the provinces, but is entirely at the disposal of the headquarters, and no relief of the sick and wounded in time of war or political disturbance can be carried out unless under the control and guidance of the governing body in Tokyo. That this system is remarkably conducive to the efficiency of the work done, is amply proved by actual experience. The only palpable argument against the centralization is that it is unfavourable to the encouragement of the provincial members, but with such means of propagation and encouragement as exists no inconvenience is felt in that respect. The million members of the society are formed into one legal person with residence in Tokyo.

"The activity of that legal person is theoretically confined to the resolution taken in the general assembly of all the members held in Tokyo once a year." The impossibility of assembling a million members together leaves much of the power in the hands of the standing committee, the election of whose members is the most important of the proceedings of the general assembly.

The central office in Tokyo is all-powerful to decide whether or not a local section, or branch, can be established in any department. As the establishment of local branches can but result in a rapid dispersion of capital, no authorization is ever given to establish another branch unless the department in question possesses a certain revenue (3000 yen a year) or a given number of members (1000). Before one or other of these conditions is fulfilled, the departmental committee does not enjoy any administrative power. It can only facilitate communication between the head office and the departments. In this manner, a strict centralization of power can be consolidated in the making of rules concerning the administration, finances, and the relief service in time of war. The powers of the society always remain centralized at Tokyo, and are composed of the permanent council and the executive committee. The standing committee is composed of thirty members elected by the general assembly from among the titular members who reside in Tokyo; they hold office for three years, and can be re-elected. It is this council which decides all the important business of the society, and it is convoked every time a question arises which ought to be submitted to the central office, and in any case it is always convoked once every three months. Decisions are made by a majority of votes, and in the event of their being equal the president has the casting vote. The committee cannot come to any decision should the number of members present be fewer than fifteen. In this case the meeting is again convoked a fortnight later,

and can then make decisions irrespective of the number of members present. The executive committee is composed of a president, two vice-presidents, and five administrators, who are elected for three years by the standing committee, and are chosen from among its members. The honorary president submits the names of the members elected to Their Imperial Majesties, whose approval is necessary before they can enter upon their duties. All these officers are honorary. The president is the head of the society and represents it ; he arranges all necessary details for the carrying out of the statutes, nominates the employees, and presides at the general meeting of the permanent council. The vice-presidents assist the president, and replace him whenever necessary. The administrators execute all business under the orders of the president.

The acts of the society are (by Article VII. of the statutes) subject to the control of the Ministers of Marine and War of the Imperial Household, in order to remain in conformity with the wishes of Their Majesties, its other protectors, and the sanitary organization of the army. All the principal rules of the society are submitted for authorization to these ministers. With regard to the control exercised by the Ministry of Marine, nothing has been yet definitely arranged, because the works of the society have not yet been extended to relief service in maritime wars. The director of the Army Medical Service answers all questions relating to the Ministry of War.

In order to render the control of the medical service of the army more easy and effective, there is a staff-officer and a military doctor attached to the direction of the Army Sanitary Service, who are sent to the society as military advisers. Thanks to these, the secretary is in direct relationship with the military authority, so that all preparations made for the time of war by the army or by the society itself are made simultaneously.

The general meetings of the members of the society are

convoked by the president every year in the month of April, or whenever he may judge it necessary.

When a general meeting has been asked for by more than one-tenth of the titular members, he is obliged to convoke a meeting within four weeks, provided they have stated the precise question they wish to propose and their motives for raising it.

At the general assembly, the re-election of the members of the permanent council, the reading of the report upon the state of the society, the *compte rendu* of its debit and credit, and resolutions upon propositions presented by the executive committee or by the titular members, which have been seconded by more than thirty other members, are proceeded with.

As long as there were only a few thousand members, this theory and practice was not impossible to carry out. But the increased number of members, especially of late years, having been prodigious, it was impossible to study or decide any proposal in the general meetings to which thousands came. At the general assembly held in 1898, for instance, there were more than 30,000 members present.

The reports of the administration, finances, and new propositions which required the sanction of the general assembly were made by means of pamphlets. The renewal of office appointments were also made by means of printed lists containing the names of candidates : the last holders of office being entirely re-elected, with the exception only of some few modifications concerning infirm members or those who were unable to attend. It is consequently evident that the real directing power lies in the hands of the president and the standing committee.

In time of war the standing committee is transformed into an extraordinary council, in order to facilitate the expedition of business, and the president can, if he judges necessary, temporarily increase the number of members of the council.

Another very characteristic point in the organization of the Red Cross Society in Japan is that it is always the governors of the departments who become the heads of the local branches, and that the work of the deputy head-clerk is always confided to the secretaries and councillors of the prefecture. This is due to the persistent efforts of H.I.H. Prince Komatsu, the late honorary president, and of the Marquis Ito, former Minister of the Imperial Household, who were of opinion that by placing the governors of departments at the head of the local sections a more effective result would be obtained, because, being already acquainted with the local inhabitants, they would be more likely to have influence in inducing them to become members of the society. Although this is not an official system, it is in the present day looked upon as being a well-established custom, and one which has contributed enormously towards the development of the society. Needless to say that this system is also of the greatest importance for the society with regard to the centralization, unity, and unvaried sameness of its administration, especially for everything that concerns the work of preparation for time of war.

Before the Chinese War the number of local sections was seventeen, and in twenty-five other departments there were only departmental committees without any administrative authority. Ten new local sections were created during the war, but after its termination the sudden increase of members in every part of the empire necessitated the creation of local sections in all the departments, even in Formosa. Actually there exist fifty-two local branches, and new regulations have been drawn up for them. There are under the local branches committees of districts and parishes, at the head of which are placed district and communal officers who are under the authority of the governors of departments.

Tokyo, being the central seat of the society, had not, in the beginning, either branch or committee, but as business

increased so much after the war it became necessary to create a new section, having for its chief the Governor of Tokyo. This branch differs from the other local sections inasmuch as that it does not do any business relating to preparations for service during the time of war.

The system of centralization is therefore complete in all that concerns the various organs of the society, and it follows precisely the same line of conduct as that of the interior administration of the State. The Ministers of War and Marine, being controllers of the Society of the Red Cross, have the right to give orders to the governors of the departments in their double capacity as statesmen and chiefs of sections.

It is customary in Japan for all the governors of departments to be called once a year to Tokyo for governmental business; the committee of the Red Cross profits by this occasion to convoke them in a meeting as chiefs of sections in order to give them instructions and to hear their opinions.

The system of centralizing the administration of the society has a special signification with regard to finances. The great inconvenience of having many small independent local societies is that several unimportant financial funds are found to be useless whether in time of peace or war. For the entire society there is only one counting-house and one cash account. All the money and gifts addressed to the Society of the Red Cross come theoretically to the central seat, just as all expenses are paid there. The resources of the society are composed of subsidies from their Imperial Majesties the Emperor and Empress, members' contributions, voluntary gifts, various collections of monies proceeding from the works of the society, and the interest of its capital. The general management of funds is in the hands of the executive committee, which is obliged to render an account to the standing committee every three months.

With regard to finances, the local sections are divided into two categories. The departments which include the two large towns of Kyoto and Osaka, the five large posts, Yokohama, Kobe, Niigata, Nagasaki, Hakodate, and the eight departments which are seats of the staffs of army divisions, are authorized to keep a third of their local revenues. The other local sections are only authorized to retain one-fourth of their revenues. All the remainder of the funds of every section is forwarded to the central office at Tokyo. It must not be forgotten that a third or fourth part of the finances retained by the local branches cannot be expended by their own authority, but that the greater portion of these revenues is employed for making the necessary preparations of both *personnel* and *matériel* for the time of war.

The system of distinctive medals, badges, and decorations instituted in connection with the society has aided much towards the rapid increase of the membership. Every member of the society receives a silver badge, which he or she may wear even on official occasions. The intention, in the first place, in the creation of these badges was for the purpose of distinguishing members from non-members ; but what is of importance about them is their good effect in causing the society to become more effectively known and extended.

From the beginning, the badges of the Society of the Red Cross of Japan were distinguished from the medals of other societies by their great value, and by the honour which is attached to them.

Three things differentiated them from those of other societies :—

1. The badges of the Society of the Red Cross are created by virtue of a special order sanctioned by the Emperor on June 2, 1888, whereas those of other private societies have never received any official ratification.

2. The insignia of the Society of the Red Cross are

bestowed upon members in a solemn ceremony, during which the honorary president gives the names to the Minister of the Imperial Household, who in his turn refers them to His Majesty the Emperor.

The result of this ceremonial is that the badge is, in a sense, really conferred by the Emperor himself, precisely in the same manner as various other decorations and medals of the empire are conferred.

3. The badges of the Society of the Red Cross can be worn by members at public meetings in the same way as any other decoration or medal of the State.

A Decree of 1895 confirms the wearing in public of these Red Cross badges, and formally prohibits the wearing in public on official occasions of other decorations.

It is easy to understand how this honour, which was granted to the Society of the Red Cross, contributed towards the work of rendering it more popular. In a country like Japan, where the Emperor is loved and respected by all his subjects, it is at once the pride of the people and an honour to possess a decoration bestowed by him.

Besides the badge of a member, there is another special decoration of merit which was created as a recompense for those who render great services to the society. Among the services which enter into this category, the following may be counted: (1) The procuring of a large number of members through individual efforts; and (2) the offering of 1000 yen made to the society, either in one payment or by instalments.

The great part played by women in the work of the Red Cross Society is very remarkable. Again we see the same principle successfully applied as has proved so efficacious in the society itself. Of this branch of the Red Cross work, Professor Ariga says: "The committee of ladies form by themselves an independent organization attached to the vast organization of the Red Cross in

Japan. The first committee was founded in Tokyo in 1887, during the absence of Their Imperial Highnesses Prince and Princess Komatsu, by Her Imperial Highness Princess Arisugawa, with the aid of the Court-Counsellor and Surgeon-in-Chief, Baron Dr. Hashimoto, Baron Dr. Ishigoro, already mentioned, and the wives and daughters of the nobles and the Ministers of State. On her return from Europe, Her Imperial Highness Princess Komatsu herself became the chief administratrix of the committee, which post she still retains, even after the death of her illustrious husband. Marchioness Nabeshima is the acting administratrix, and is assisted by all the Imperial princesses. It had in 1904 538 members. In the prefectures there are at present thirty-six committees of ladies, founded by the wives of the governors, who are themselves chiefs of the local sections, as already seen. The wives and daughters of the generals and officers of the army divisions stationed in the prefectures also take active part. There are at present 3366 members in all.

“The members of the committee of ladies subject themselves to a fixed course of training in the dressing of wounds, preparation of bandages, etc., usually under some medical officers of the army, and occasionally take part in actual ambulance or hospital work side by side with the trained nurses; but the great object for which they exist is moral rather than material. The society has special organization for the training of professional nurses, and it is indisputable that in point of efficiency amateur nurses cannot for a moment compare with regularly trained ones. Why, then, do we have the committee of ladies? The answer is as follows: In Europe and America the history of nursing the sick and wounded is deeply connected with the idea of Christian charity, and as the sisters of charity are respected, so is also the profession of nursing to which the sisters devote themselves. But in Japan the same history does not exist, and the Buddhist nuns care

little for nursing. Besides, in our society the relation between the sexes is such that outside the sphere of family relationship a woman cannot volunteer herself to nurse a man unless in the capacity of a hireling, much like the amahs for children. Among the ladies the idea of keeping to the rules of good society is much stronger than that of humanity, or was so, at least, when the work of the Red Cross was first instituted in Japan, so that only the women of inferior classes could be induced to come into hospital wards and nurse whatever patients chanced to be there. But this was not what the Red Cross Society wanted. What it wanted was a class of refined ladies with intelligence and self-respect, devoting themselves to the work, not for pay, but for patriotism and humanity. Hence, in order to bring about artificially the required change in the social feelings concerning the matter, it was necessary that the ladies in the highest position should set the example and let the public see that nursing is no mean, mercenary profession, but, on the contrary, a very honourable one—nay, almost the only one in which a woman can aspire to be of direct service to the State in time of war. For this purpose the members of the committee of ladies, both in Tokyo and the prefectures, become the moral guides of the professional nurse trained in the hospital of the society. They take care of their education and supervise their conduct when at home or out on the field of service. Every time there is a graduation ceremony of the reserve nurses of the society, Her Imperial Highness Princess Komatsu addresses them with words of advice and encouragement. These efforts of the committee of ladies have been attended with fullest success, so that now the nurses of the Red Cross Society are recruiting from among the daughters of the well-to-do middle class, and enjoy the highest reputation in society. But the work of the committee of ladies does not end there. The organization of each committee lending itself very easily to circumstances,

it seizes every opportunity of making itself useful in case of war or public calamity."

The nature of the work of these ladies' organizations may be gathered from the following abstract from a letter written by the Marchioness Oyama, who is an indefatigable worker in the society:—

"Relief work among the women has been very active. The Ladies' Volunteer Nursing Association has been hard at work. During the summer we used to work from seven in the morning till half-past five in the afternoon, but lately the hours have been shortened, and we begin at nine. We have made 150,000 'first aids,' and we expect to make 20,000 more. As soon as we have finished these we hope to begin to do actual nursing. Thanks to the efficiency of our Red Cross Society, we have plenty of professional nurses, and our work so far has been to care for those sick and wounded soldiers of the Sendai, Hiro-saki, and Hokkaido divisions, who spend a night here on their way north. We have established a place near the Shimbashi Station, and a party of us take turns and go there to see to these soldiers. The Ladies' Patriotic Association is also very active, and it has increased its members to 250,000. Another society which has been doing so much good is the Ladies' Visiting Association. They have done much to relieve distress. Of course, the Government tries to provide for every case of suffering, but that is not sufficient, and this society supplements where the authorities fail to provide. Aside from these societies many people, either individually or in groups, have been working very hard to aid the destitute families of those at the front. One of my friends has provided all the families of the soldiers in the three districts nearest to where she lives with winter clothing, which she has recut and remade out of old dresses which she got from her friends. As to my comfort fund, which I was collecting, it has reached a very good sum.

"Miss Tsuda's school sent out nearly 1000 cholera belts during the summer vacation, and during the winter holidays they promised to knit 1000 pairs of socks. I think you must have heard of the 'comfort bags' which various bodies of people sent to the front. The Peeresses School, in conjunction with the Normal School, forwarded for the New Year's present about 23,000 of these, and I am glad to tell you that they reached their destination on the very first.

"Then, again, in autumn all the girls' schools in Tokyo offered to make the underclothing of the soldiers during the hours of their sewing lessons. The offer was accepted by the War Department, and even the youngest little girl was made happy, thinking she was doing something for the soldiers."

The Red Cross Society has a magnificently equipped hospital in Tokyo, which is crowded with soldiers in time of war, but with patients of the highest classes during peace. These well-to-do patients pay a fixed sum daily, which money goes to the funds of the society. This social distinction shows that there is little of the philanthropic shoddy nature about this most excellent institution. Besides the Tokyo hospital, the society possesses three hospitals in the provinces.

Of special interest to Great Britain and the United States are the arrangements of the society relating to hospital ships. In Japan the hospital ships do not come under the Army Medical Department, but under the Red Cross Society. This society, in every sense of the word a national undertaking, recognized after the war with China the necessity of having hospital ships ready, to transport the sick and wounded during any future war. The insular situation of Japan renders such ships a prime necessity, as should be the case for the British Isles. Thus the parallel is instructive as well as interesting. The Japanese Red Cross Society decided that it was useless to depend upon

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transports improvised into hospital ships on the outbreak of a war, because at this time all available vessels are needed for the service of the active forces. Even should the vessels be available, the lack of adequate sanitary arrangements in vessels not especially constructed for the purpose was held to be too great a danger to be risked. Therefore hospital ships of special design had to be built. But there was the serious question of expense, both of construction and of the lying idle of such ships during the long periods of peace. To obviate to as great an extent as possible these drawbacks, the Red Cross Society discovered a means which is most practical, and which has been shown by the present war not only to have worked exceedingly well, but to represent the best possible compromise obtainable. An arrangement was made along the following lines with the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, a private steamship company which receives a Government subsidy :—

“ 1. The society shall build and equip at its expense two ships for the transport of the sick and wounded.

“ 2. The plan of construction shall be determined by a technical committee composed of the directors of the medical services of the army and of the navy, a naval architect belonging to the Imperial navy, an engineer of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, and members of the administrative committee of the society.

“ 3. The actual construction of the vessels, in accordance with the plan fixed by the technical committee, shall be confided to the Nippon Yusen Kaisha.

“ 4. The ships so constructed shall be sold by the society to the Nippon Yusen Kaisha at the cost of construction in partial payments of equal amount, without interest, extending over twenty years, on the condition that whenever the society shall have need of them for relief service the Nippon Yusen Kaisha shall place one or both of them at its disposal without delay.

"5. The Nippon Yusen Kaisha shall have the liberty of transforming and repainting the ships while it is using them ; but the moment they are called for by the society, they are to be restored to their original form and colour. For this transformation the company shall be allowed a delay of thirty days in ordinary times, but only seven days in time of war.

"6. During the time the ships are being used by the society in relief service, manœuvres, etc., it shall pay to the company an indemnity of so much per ton, to be fixed according to the rate of indemnity paid by the Government to the company for requisitioning its ships.

"7. The cost of food, etc., for the relief staff shall be paid by the society, while the ordinary running expenses, including the cost of coal, shall be paid by the company during the time the ships are being used by the society.

"8. During the twenty years the company shall take upon itself all the responsibilities regarding damage or loss of the ships, subjecting them to repairs or replacing them with new ones built in exactly the same form.

"9. At the end of the twenty years the society undertakes to build three ships with the accumulated sum of the partial payments from the company and the compound interest paid upon them by the bank of deposit."

The arrangement was entered into in August, 1897, and by the end of 1898 two hospital steamers, costing £54,000 each, were completed on the Clyde. These two boats, the *Hakuai Maru* and the *Kosai Maru*, have done yeoman work in the Boxer rising and in the present war. Their gross tonnage is 2774, their horse-power is 878, and the *maximum* speed $14\frac{1}{4}$ miles. Each contains 208 beds, besides full equipment of physicians, surgeons, and medical and surgical rooms and stores. The nurses and doctors are supplied by the Red Cross Society. In the Boxer outbreak these two Japanese ships did much good

service to the allied forces, and in seven trips each carried 3059 patients. During the present war the ships have been used continuously, though it has been found necessary to supplement them by many improvised vessels. But it was possible to spare the time necessary to transform these latter owing to the immediate readiness of the two special hospital ships at the beginning of the war.

While it may not be possible for the British Red Cross Society, which does not compare in power with the Japanese Society, to undertake the work, the War Office might well enter into an arrangement with one of the great British steamship lines, somewhat upon the model of the Japanese arrangements. The cost would be very small, and the advantages so great that the idea is at least worth consideration.

The Japanese Government, being anxious to make perfectly clear the position of the hospital ships belonging to the Japanese Red Cross Society, took advantage of the Peace Conference at the Hague to propose the neutralization of the hospital ships which should be engaged in transporting on the sea the wounded and the sick from the land forces. This proposal was adopted by the conference, and the following declaration, made by M. Motono, was included in the final protocol :—

“In the meeting of May 30, 1899, of the First Sub-Commission of the Second Commission, I had the honour, in the name of the Japanese Delegation, to call the attention of the sub-commission to an omission which, it appeared to us, existed in the Geneva Convention of 1864 and in the additional Articles of 1868. The wounded and sick of the land forces, as well as the hospitals and ambulances, are to be protected by the convention of Geneva. The additional Articles of 1868 had for object the protection to a certain degree of hospital ships, their *personnel*, such as the wounded and sick, and the shipwrecked people finding themselves on these ships; but

these conditions only seemed to be applicable from their general nature to the victims of a naval war.

“The Imperial Japanese Government thinks that it is necessary, in the interests of humanity, to extend to the hospital ships, charged with the transporting on the sea of the wounded and sick of the land forces, the same protection granted by the Convention of Geneva to the military hospitals and ambulances.

“It was to this effect that I had the honour, following the instructions of my Government, to express in the meeting of the 30th of May to the First Sub-Commission of the Second Commission the wish to see inserted in the present scheme an adequate clause.

“The First Sub-Commission of the Second Commission decided in the same sitting to accept our wish, and M. Renault, in his remarkable report, dealt in the following terms with the scope of the innovation introduced in the present project :—

““In the Articles that the Commission submits to the conference, mention is made of wounded and sick and shipwrecked, “not victims of a naval war.” This last expression, though true in the majority of cases, would not be so always, and for that reason should be struck out. The proposed rules apply from the moment that there are wounded or sick people on board the ship, without inquiry as to whether the wounds have been received or the sickness has broken out on land or on sea.’

“In consequence, if a ship is used for the transport on the sea of wounded or sick from the land forces, this ship, these wounded, these sick people, will be covered by the Articles of our project.

“On the other hand, it is quite evident that if wounded or sick sailors are landed and placed in a hospital or ambulance, the Conference of Geneva will only apply to all those concerned.

“This remark appears to us to give satisfaction to the

observation presented in the Sub-Commission, and we do not think it at all necessary to insert a special Article on this subject.

“These observations in the report of the Second Commission give full satisfaction to the wish expressed by the Imperial Government of Japan. In consequence and in order to avoid any misunderstanding in the future as to the interpretation of the two texts of the present project relating to the above-mentioned point, I have the honour to ask you in the name of the Japanese Delegation that the passages incited above shall be inserted in the protocol of the Peace Conference.”

So it is to Japan that the world owes the regularization of the position of hospital ships.

The Red Cross Society during war time is absolutely under the control of the military authorities, having, however, the advantage of its regular machinery for supplies, etc. Professor Ariga thus outlines the Society's system in time of war: “The Relief Detachments have for their object the giving of assistance to the army medical staff of the hospitals, either in the interior or in the line of communication. Our first idea was to organize the *personnel* and the supplies into so many hospitals, but experience has shown that the military authorities are rarely in position to utilize our hospitals as such, but that much more frequently they have to divide our *personnel* into groups of different sizes, according to the object for which they are employed. Hence we have adopted the detachment form, and, taking the treatment of 100 patients as the standard, have made the following organizations: 2 physicians, 1 pharmacist, 1 clerk, 2 chief nurses (or chief attendants), 20 nurses (or attendants).

“There are 112 relief detachments for the army and 4 for the navy. Of the former, 94 are formed with the nurses and 18 with attendants. In the relief work of the interior, the formation with nurses is also exclusively

resorted to, while for the work in the zone of Etape, that with the attendants is more frequently employed.

"The experiences of the Chinese war and the Boxer troubles have shown that whenever there is a war on the Asiatic continent, patients have to be evacuated through long distances of bad roads, over which such transport waggons as are employed in the West cannot be drawn without causing much injury, so that the only way of transporting them is by means of stretchers. It is the business of the army to provide for stretcher-bearers, but the army bearer-companies, being usually improvised organizations, are not fit to treat the soldiers on the way. Hence the society supplies three complete organizations with physicians and attendants, each capable of transporting thirty patients whose condition is especially serious, requiring medical treatment on the way.

"Rest stations are formed at the ports of disembarkation and at the railway stations between the ports, and the reserve hospitals in the interior. They have for their object the alleviation of suffering and fatigue of the patients, by offering them rest and refreshment, and also medical treatment if need be. The organization of each rest station is left to the local section of the prefecture, through which the transportation takes places, and only the forms for food, drinks, etc., to be offered to the patients are fixed by the president, with the approval of the Minister of War. The local section is to supply such physician, clerks, nurses, etc., as may be necessary.

"The depôt of supply is established at a convenient spot of communication between the base and the head of the Etape, and has for its object the reception and distribution of supplies and contributed articles required for the Relief Corps of the Society rendering their service within the zone of the Etape.

"There is only one depôt kept ready for expedition in

time of peace, but as soon as war breaks out others may be formed at once."

Let us here add a few words regarding supplies and the plan of mobilization for the Relief Corps.

The supplies, or "materials" as they are called, needed for each Relief Corps are fixed beforehand, and tabulated side by side with the *personnel*, although it is too long to enumerate them here. They are classified into sanitary materials, such as medical and surgical instruments, medicines, articles required for transport, etc., and ordinary materials, such as clothing and bedding for patients for the Relief Staff, stationary for office work, etc. They are procured and stored away in the go-downs of the headquarters and of the local sections, only those articles subject to change or deterioration being secured by agreement from contractors.

The materials needed by the Relief Corps serving in the interior are supplied directly by the headquarters of the society, those needed by the Relief Corps serving on the line of communication by the *depôt* of supply, and those needed at the rest stations by the local sections, as already seen, unless otherwise ordered by the competent military authorities or by the president of the society.

With regard to the plan of mobilization of the Relief Corps, the mobilization year of the army and navy is taken as the form, and the space of time between the 1st of April of this and the 31st of March of the following year is considered one year of relief service of the society. The president draws up two detailed reports of all the preparation made for the coming year of such service, and presents them to the Ministers of War and of the Navy before the end of September of the previous year. On receiving the reports, the Ministers assign to such Relief Corps as are needed fixed services in the army and navy in case of war, and the Relief Corps to which definite

positions in the system of mobilization of the army and navy have thus been allotted, cannot be used for any other purpose during the year.

A special regulation stipulates the way in which the Relief Corps are to be mobilized in time of war, or for the purpose of review, instructions, or manœuvre in time of peace. It is executed at the headquarters or local sections, where the orders are printed and stored away, so that only the date, names, and time and place of formation of the Relief Corps have been filled in before despatch. In a separate list are given the distance of the abodes of the different members of the corps, so that it can be known exactly in how many hours orders reach them, and they are required to notify within a certain number of hours that they have received the summons, and whether they can or cannot respond to the call. In case of hindrance by disease or wound, the answer is to be accompanied by a physician's certificate. The members responding to the call are subjected to physical examination, and if found incapable for service, they are immediately sent home.

A word must also be said respecting the manœuvres. It is one of the many privileges the Red Cross Society of Japan enjoys, owing to arrangement with the military authorities, that it is allowed to take real part in the manœuvres, large and small, of the army. On such occasions the society or its local sections summon and send out the relief staff in just the same way as in the case of actual war, establish hospitals on the supposed line of communication, and receive and cure not only mock patients, but also real ones, cases of illness or wound in consequence of the manœuvres. Great stress is laid on making the members of the Relief Corps understand the part they are to play in the whole organization of the medical service of the army, a thing which cannot be sufficiently well done by hospital training; and when the

manœuvre is over, criticisms are made upon their conduct by the chief medical officer of the army.

Besides the assistance rendered to the army during war time, the society has done good work during national calamities, such as earthquakes, tidal waves, railway accidents, and so on. Properly speaking, this work is not part of the duty of the Red Cross Society, but it is undertaken for three reasons—

“First, to respond to the humane wishes of Her Majesty the Empress.

“Second, to exercise the relief staff of the society in works of succour under difficult circumstances.

“Third, to utilize the occasion as means of propaganda for the Red Cross work, and of making the inhabitants of the provinces take active part in it.”

The preparation of the relief *personnel* is most elaborately worked out, and, to quote Professor Ariga again—

“It will be seen that providing of persons properly trained for relief service, and ready to come forward under the flag of the society on the first call, is the most important work to which the society has to devote its energy in time of peace.

“Nobody shall be appointed to the relief *personnel* of the society unless he or she is possessed of the following general qualifications:—

“1. Good physical constitution.

“2. Full enjoyment of civil rights.

“3. Exemption from military service (national guards excepted).

“4. Blameless conduct in the past.

“5. Height of more than five feet (except in the case of chief nurses and nurses).

“Managers must be between 30 and 50 years of age, and capable of administering the relief work of the society.

“Clerks must be between 25 and 40 years of age.

“Chief Physician, Physicians, and Pharmacists must be

under 50 years of age, possessed of licence to practise medicine or pharmacy, and belong to either of the following classes of persons :—

“ 1. Those who have finished their studies in the medical department of one of the Imperial Universities.

“ 2. Those who have finished the special course of study in one of the authorized schools of medicine, or are possessed of equivalent knowledge to these.

“Nurses, attendants, and stretcher-bearers are taken only from among those that have finished the regular course of study as student nurses, attendants, or stretcher-bearers of the society.

“The appointments are made from among the persons possessed of the above qualifications either by the president or by the chiefs of local sections, according as such persons are needed for the Relief Corps of headquarters or of the local sections. The persons so appointed become the ‘reserve’ physicians, nurses, etc., of the society. And here comes in the remarkable institution called the ‘vow.’ Each person appointed to the reserve *personnel* of the society shall take a solemn oath in writing to keep himself or herself for a fixed number of years ready to respond at any time to the first call of the society for service in time of war, political disturbance, or for instruction, manœuvre, etc. The number of years over which the vow extends differs with the kind of *personnel*, to wit—

For reserve managers, physicians, pharmacists	5 years
„ „ clerks, assistant pharmacists	5 „
„ „ chief nurses	15 „
„ „ chief attendants and chief stretcher-bearers	5 „
„ „ nurses	15 „
„ „ attendants	10 „
„ „ stretcher-bearers	7 „

“The limits of age after which one is considered incapable of service is 55 for managers, physicians,

pharmacists, chief nurses, and nurses, and 45 for clerks, assistant pharmacists, chief attendants, chief stretcher-bearers, attendants, and stretcher-bearers.

“Although the years of the vow be over, yet if the limit of age be not yet reached, the vow may be renewed at the wish of the individual, provided his or her physical constitution is strong enough. If the limit of age be reached, the individual is dismissed, even though the years of the vow be not yet over, unless his or her physical constitution be found capable of further service upon examination. In case of war or of political disturbance, and as long as it continues, the years of the vow may be prolonged at the will of the society.”

One of the characteristic traits of the Red Cross Society of Japan is that all the members of the relief staff are paid, not only for the service rendered, but also for their adhering to the vow. In many of the sister societies of Europe, a part or whole of the relief *personnel* is made honorary, meant for charity, and not for material recompense. But in Japan a different policy is followed, in view of the object for which the society exists. The society is established for good and efficient work in the relief of sick and wounded soldiers in time of war, and efficiency is not always the accompaniment of charitable goodwill. Hence the entire separation of the two—charitable persons either subscribing to the funds themselves, or inducing others to do so, and the work of relief being done by persons chosen with sole reference to their efficiency, and paid out of the funds so collected.

For keeping the vow merely, and independently of any service rendered, the members of the relief staff in reserve receive the following retention fees :—

Managers, physicians, pharmacists	36 yen a year.
Assistant pharmacists, chief attendants, chief stretcher-bearers	18 „ „
Attendants and stretcher-bearers	12 „ „

Only the chief nurses and nurses receive nothing, because they can find splendid employment on account of their training, which has cost much to the society.

Whenever the members of the relief staff, composed of the reserve *personnel* under vow as above described, are made to render service in time of war, political disturbances, or public calamity, or even when they are summoned for manœuvre, instruction, etc., a fixed amount of the so-called "departure-money" and cost of travelling is paid to them, besides the salary, which is quite substantial and much better than that paid to the members of the Army Medical Service. If they have served for a certain length of time, or under particularly difficult circumstances, additions are made to their salaries; and if they contract illness or receive wounds in consequence of the service, pensions are paid to them, which go to their families in case of death.

As to the members of the administrative staff, such as administrators, managers, clerks, it is clear that no training is possible beyond personal tact and experience. The cases where technical training is most needed are physicians, nurses, attendants, and stretcher-bearers. As to the pharmacists, the number required is so small that they can be easily recruited from professional druggists.

The training of physicians of the society is carried out on the following principle:—The society makes contract with some of the students of the medical department of the Imperial universities (one in Tokyo and the other in Kyoto), and pays the expense of their education on condition that they become reserve physicians of the society on their graduation. As soon as they graduate, they are usually attached to the central hospital of the society in Tokyo, and required to practise under the eyes of the famous Baron Dr. Hashimoto. If they prove really efficient, after a certain number of years they are sent to Europe to perfect their studies at the expense of the

society. There are thus always one or two doctors of the society staying in Europe. This is the regular way of securing physicians, but it requires time, and a sufficient number cannot be obtained at once. A temporary method is therefore resorted to, especially by the local sections, of binding by "vow" physicians who have received their training in private medical schools recognized by the Government, or others who are considered to have the same amount of learning. For the benefit of the latter class of reserve physicians, a special course of lectures is instituted from time to time, usually in the central hospital of the society. The president nominates chief physicians from among the reserve physicians of the society.

The training of nurses forms the subject of a special regulation, the substance of which is as follows :—

Candidates in Tokyo and the prefectures between the ages of 17 and 30, upon presenting two guarantees, are admitted after examination in elementary subjects and as to physical constitution, and become the student nurses of the headquarters or of the local sections, to undergo three years' training, either in hospitals of the society, where such exist, or by a specially instituted training board. The local sections are at liberty to entrust at their own expense the education of their student nurse to the hospital of the society, or even to private hospitals. A monthly allowance of from 5 to 8 yen is given to each student nurse, and uniforms and other articles are also loaned to them. An influential member of the committee of ladies usually figures as the superior of student nurses, but the actual management of affairs is done by the chief of the hospital in which the training is carried on or by the chiefs of the local sections possessing no hospitals, and the physicians concerned are nominated by the society as teachers. The first year and a half is devoted to theoretical instructions, while the remaining

year and a half is spent in practical exercise. Those who have passed the examination successfully are at once taken up as reserve nurses of the society under "vow." The most efficient are reported by the chiefs of the hospitals, and undergo another six months' supplementary training, with increased allowance, in the central hospital of the society, under the guidance of Baron Dr. Hashimoto. After another successful examination, certificates of fitness for being chief nurses are given them, and they are nominated as such whenever vacancies occur.

But what, writes Dr. Ariga, do the nurses do after their graduation and during the years of "vow"? They can marry if they choose, although the condition of married life is somewhat incompatible with the terms of the "vow." Moreover, there is so much demand for their services in hospitals and private families that they usually find it much better to remain professional nurses. The nurses of the society are much sought for by the general public, because they are known to be efficient and of good behaviour. Their acceptance of such private employment involves the danger of their losing the dignity and self-respect so necessary for their service in time of war. The society recognizes this, and has therefore created in the central hospital of the society what is known as the "Board of External Service of the Society Nurses." All demands from external sources have to be made to this board, and are not complied with unless in accordance with the conditions set down in the rules of the board. The fees are paid, not to the nurses, but to the board, which affords them moral and material support, and gives them their earnings after deducting the expense of the board. The system works quite satisfactorily, and will be gradually extended to the local sections as the number of their nurses increases.

The training of attendants forms the subject of another special regulation, the substance of which is as follows:—

Candidates in Tokyo and the provinces between the ages of 20 and 34 years, upon presenting two guarantees, are admitted, after examination in elementary subjects and as to physical constitution, and become the students of the headquarters, or of the local sections, to undergo ten months' training in the art of nursing the sick and wounded. The training is carried on either in the hospitals of the society, where such exist, or, where they do not, by the special training board ; but the local sections may entrust, at their expense, the training of their student attendants to the hospital of the headquarters, of other local sections, or even to private hospitals. A monthly allowance of from 8 to 15 yen is given to the student attendants, besides the uniform and the articles that are lent to them. The chiefs of the hospitals where the training is carried on, or of the local sections possessing no hospitals, direct and control the education of student attendants, assisted by the physicians, who are nominated teachers by the society. The first five months are devoted to theoretical studies, while the remaining five months are spent in practical exercise in hospitals of the Imperial army. This system of training the attendants in the military hospitals, side by side with the attendants of the army, is considered a very important one, because they will in time of war have to work in such hospitals under military discipline, and their usefulness will depend much on whether they understand the internal organization of the Army Medical Service or not. Those who have passed the final examination satisfactorily are appointed reserve attendants of the society under "vow," to be attached to such and such relief corps in the plan of mobilization of the society. The better ones are reported from the chiefs of the hospitals or local sections to the presidents, who select a certain number to undergo another two months' study in the central hospital of the society, with increased allowance. Those that have finished this supplementary course receive the certificate of

fitness for being chief attendants, and are nominated such whenever a vacancy occurs. Attendants as such can find but little private employment after their graduation, and hence the necessity of frequent exercise in the manœuvres relief service in case of public calamity, etc.

The training of stretcher-bearers is carried on in accordance with another special regulation, which can be summed up as follows :—

The candidates must be those who have learned the art of stretcher-bearing as infantry soldiers, or, where these cannot be found in sufficient numbers, those that have once been infantry soldiers. They must be below 37 years of age, and are admitted upon examination of their physical constitution and of their good character, provided they present two guarantors responsible for their conduct during the time they are student stretcher-bearers of the society. They are subjected to three months' training in the art of transporting the sick and wounded, and in such improviso work as making ropes, fabricating stretchers, etc., that may be of use in connection with their service. At present, the training of stretcher-bearers is carried on only in the headquarters of the society, under the direction of the chief of the first section. The students receive a monthly allowance of 15 yen, besides the uniform and other articles that are lent to them. The first two months are devoted to theoretical instruction, and the last one to practical exercise, after which they become the reserve stretcher-bearers of the society. A certain number of the better ones are subjected to one month of supplementary training, which finished, a certificate of fitness for being chief stretcher-bearer is given to them. The stretcher-bearers, too, find but little employment as such outside the society, hence there is more or less difficulty in recruiting them.

The Red Cross Society of Japan not only teaches its members their duty towards the country, but it trains them to perform many of their duties to one another in a way which

no other organization has equalled or even approached. It also rallies the whole nation around the Imperial family, and gives one person in every forty-five of the people a personal tie with the head of the State. At present such support is not needed by the Emperor of Japan, who occupies a position in the hearts of his subjects unrivalled and unchanging. But the Red Cross Society is an insurance against change in the future, and as such it has a great national value. The magnitude of the power afforded in controlling the public opinion for peace or for war is almost unimaginable. Even a very much smaller society would prove of great value as a steadying force to the nation in moments of crisis. Thus, besides the direct object for which it was founded, the Red Cross Society of Japan has a great national mission, and every new member enrolled does far more than merely swell the financial resources of the organization. Every new member is a fresh tie in the patriotic solidarity of Japan, and it is not hard to imagine that the *rôle* played in the future by this vast national enterprise will rank above any other force moulding the destiny of the country.

CHAPTER XVI

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

"GENERALLY speaking, men and women of a country cannot be on very different levels as regards their moral and intellectual standards. Women form about one-half of the population of a country, and one-half cannot be decidedly superior or inferior in their morals and intellect to the other." If this view of a Japanese professor be accepted, and the argument is thoroughly sound, any acquiescence in the too-generally-held opinions as to the degraded position of Japanese women would be contradicted. Japan's greatness as a nation is a still more effective contradiction of the widely held opinion that one-half of her race occupies an inferior position intellectually to the others. What kind of patriotic impulse would allow half the nation to occupy a degraded position, and that half the mothers of the future generations who are to carry on the work begun to-day of raising Japan to the topmost pinnacle of power and glory? The idea is unimaginable, and therefore the subject of the position of women in Japan is of great interest to those who are anxious to study Japan's lessons of natural efficiency. In considering the position of woman, it must not be forgotten that in Japan the individual of either sex has always been subordinated to the value of the State, the clan or family. This merging of the individual into the greater national element does not necessarily mean the degradation of woman. The submergence of the individual to a lower

importance affected men and women alike. In the family system, woman was only in the same position as all the other members of it who were under the legal head. Thus, if a father abdicated, and his son became the head of the family, the father owed him obedience. There was no special degradation of women in this, it was simply the result of a social order which regarded the family as the unit, and not the individual. The wife is no more a slave to her husband than the free retainer is to his liege lord and his country—self-renunciation for the home is of the same nature as self-renunciation for the fatherland. When it is considered in how very few instances equality is to be found amongst men, even in Western nations, it is idle to spend too much time in discussing the equality or otherwise of the two sexes. Many of the differences between the position of men and women in Japan arose from the different circumstances in which they found themselves. A fuller investigation shows that so far from Japanese women being degraded, they have enjoyed in the past, and enjoy in the present, practical equality with man.

Ancestor-worship has led to the sons of a house being more important economically than the daughters, although that does not necessarily mean that they receive less affection. Daughters marry and pass into the family of their husband, venerating his ancestors, whereas the sons remain to venerate the family ancestors. Knowledge of how universal the practice of ancestor-worship is explains the weight of this argument. But this feeling is not confined to Japan; there are plenty of great families all over the world, as well as thousands of small, where the sons are, insensibly almost, preferred to the daughters. But that does not prove that the feminine portion of a nation is degraded. Ancestor-worship itself includes the worship of the Imperial ancestors, and of the First Imperial Ancestor. And that first of the unbroken line of Japanese monarchs, who is venerated daily, was a woman. It is no

exaggeration to say that Japan is the only country where an entire people daily venerate a woman, even a goddess. Can a people who venerate a woman as the highest of their guardian spirits, at the same time think nothing of the women around them? It would not seem possible, nor is it the case.

"The worship of the Imperial ancestors," says Professor Hozumi, "and especially of the first of them, Amaterasu-Omikami, or 'the Great Goddess of Celestial Light,' may be styled the national worship. The places set apart for the worship of the First Imperial Ancestor are three in number: the temple of Daijingu at Ise, the Kashikodokoro in the sanctuary of the Imperial palace, and the *Kamidana*, which is to be found in every house. In the two first named, the divine mirror represents the Imperial Ancestor. This is the mirror which, according to old histories, Amaterasu-Omikami gave to Ameno-Oshiomino Mikoto, accompanied by the injunction that her descendants should look upon that mirror as representing her soul, and should worship it as herself."

The history of Japan is singularly enlightening as to woman's position in the past, and, reading it, there is no possibility of denying that the nation owes much not only to the mothers who have borne and taught great men, but to great women themselves. The part women played in Old Japan was very remarkable, and especially so before the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism. Men and women were almost equal in their social position. There was then no shadow of the barbarous idea that men were everything and women were nothing. Woman's power in politics was great, and history tells us that there were nine women who ascended the throne in old times. Women in general were not inferior to men either physically, or mentally, or morally. They were noted for their bravery, and distinguished themselves on the field of battle. They went to war when necessary, and wore the same armour

and were armed with the same weapons as the men—there was practically no distinction made. In the literary world they were none the less noted for their brilliant productions. Their moral conduct was most blameless, and commanded universal respect. Their natural temperament was cheerful and optimistic, and charmed the sterner sex. Such being the attainments and characteristics of women in old times, we can fairly believe that they were as well educated as men were, although there were not any existing institutions of learning for women. This was the spring-time of Japanese womanhood, when it blossomed undisturbed, and exerted a strong and beneficial influence on the life of Old Japan.

Prominent amongst the great feminine figures of Japan's history stands the Empress Jingo, who, besides giving a word to the Western hemisphere, conquered Korea for Japan. To her prowess the Japanese owed much culture, and from it the women of Japan suffered many things. The Empress had urged her weak husband in vain to conquer Korea, and when he died she concealed his death from the army, but took the lead herself, assisted by the Prime Minister. In 202 A.D. she set out for Korea, and in three years subjugated the country, bringing back much that was valuable to the Japanese administration. That a woman was able to lead troops is a sufficiently clear indication of the possession of considerable public rights. Her son, unborn during the campaign, was worshipped as the God of War because of his mother's great deeds. On assuming command the Empress Jingo declared to the generals under her : " If I were to leave the whole conduct of the war in your hands, and you were unsuccessful, the responsibility would fall on your shoulders alone. But that I cannot bear. Although I am only a woman, and unworthy of the post, yet it seems that I have the full approval of the gods, and the hearty support of all you officers and of the soldiers. It is for these reasons I

venture to marshal the army, and share both the successes and failures of the undertaking."

She showed equal good generalship and good sense in her orders of the day, issued before the army set forth. These ran as follows:—

"1. Unless the strictest discipline is preserved, success cannot be hoped for.

"2. Men who give themselves up to looting and to selfish considerations will in all probability fall into the enemy's hands.

"3. However weak your enemies may be, do not despise them.

"4. However strong they may be, do not be afraid of them.

"5. Do not spare those who are treacherous.

"6. Have mercy on those who surrender.

"7. When triumphant, you will be rewarded amply.

"8. Severe punishment will fall upon cowards."

The success of the Korean expedition led to the introduction of Chinese learning, and, later, Buddhism into Japan; and these two factors, introduced by a woman, proved to be the very worst enemies the women of Japan had to encounter. It was Buddhism sought and nurtured by women, which, later, like the snake on the hearth, was to attack their position.

The nine empresses who occupied the throne of Japan at various times all contributed much to the welfare of the nation. One empress established houses of entertainment for travellers on the great roads, at which food and lodgings could be obtained at fixed rates. Another encouraged the custom of cremation. The Empress Kenujo was noted as being the first to establish charitable institutions in Japan. In 730 A.D. the *Hiden-in*, or the institution of charitable land, was created for the assistance of the poor. The officials were entrusted with certain lands, the income of which they distributed among the

poor after careful investigations. There was, besides, another institution of *Si-yaku-in*, or institution for the distribution of medicine—a State dispensary—where medicine was given away to poor patients. This same empress built public bathrooms throughout the country, in obedience to instructions given her in a dream.

It is not the empresses alone who stand out as great public benefactors. Among others there was the wife of the seventh regent, Kakuzan Zenni, who, at the death of her husband, shaved her head and entered the Tokeiji Temple at Kamakura. Upon her withdrawal to the new life she obtained from the Government a rather peculiar kind of privilege for her temple. It was to rescue helpless wives from the hands of cruel husbands. When the maltreated wives wished to get a separation or divorce from their husbands, they could claim protection under the wing of the temple for three years (afterwards reduced to two years), provided, of course, they had good reasons for their act. When once they set their foot on the threshold of the temple, even the Government officials would not be allowed to interfere, still less the furious husbands, in case they pursued their wives. The temple was thus supreme arbiter in matters of matrimonial disagreement. The practice of this privilege of "The Temple of Divorce," the name by which it became known later, was maintained for over six hundred years, up to the present reign, in spite of the downfall of the Kamakura Government and many other political changes. Thousands of unhappy women were saved by the forethought of the originator, who aimed at alleviating the misery of her sex, disregarded by the imperfect laws of the time.

Besides public affairs, literary matters were in the hands of the women rather than in those of the men. "It is a remarkable and, I believe, an unexampled fact," writes Mr. Aston, "that a very large and important part of the best literature which Japan has produced was written by women.

A fair share of the Nara poetry is of feminine authorship. In the Heian period the women took a still more conspicuous part in maintaining the honour of the native literature. The two greatest works which have come down to us from this time are both by women."

Murasaki Shikibu was the greatest of Japanese writers, and her name was immortalized by the famous *Genji Monogatari*, consisting of fifty-four volumes and over five thousand pages in the standard edition. Written in the midst of lax morals, this book, which sets forth the love affairs of *Genji*, was a book with a purpose, to reform the conditions of life. The book was written about the year 1004 A.D., and, to quote Mr. Aston—

"If we remember that this work was written long before Chaucer, Dante, and Boccaccio shone on the horizon of European literature, it will appear a truly remarkable performance."

"The light literature," says Baron Suyematsu, "that is to say, romances, novels, and such-like of the Heian period, are written in the native classical style. They are mostly by female hands. As the study of Chinese was thought to be more useful and often a more masculine and higher attainment, most men seem to have gone in that direction, having left the task of preserving the native style in the hands of women."

Thus the women were left to protect and develop the national tongue. How important a task it was, and how highly the Japanese consider the value of literature, may be gathered from the following view of Count Okuma :—

"In my opinion all women are to some extent literary. Their nervous system is framed more delicately than men's : they are more highly sensitive, and perceive things more by intuition. Moreover, the sentiments of women are more developed ; they can better sympathize with others. . . . Japanese literature has a phase peculiar to itself, namely,

the development of the writing of Romance. In this, women alone can claim the credit, and its rise occurred earlier than anywhere else. . . . Murasaki Shikibu wrote her immortal novel as early as the eleventh century, and was, indeed, the oldest novelist, not only in the country, but in the whole world.

“Literature continued to prosper. Chinese and Japanese literature developed side by side. Men wrote or sang in Chinese, while women produced compositions in Japanese. At that time the Imperial court was placed in Kyoto, and it was called the Heian (Peaceful) government. In those days the empresses and court ladies were beginning to rise to power, to the gradual decline of that of the emperors. This was, indeed, the Golden Age of woman, and the court was the rendezvous of all literary geniuses. Such being the case, Chinese learning naturally suffered, and began fast to decline. The Empress, who enjoyed in some senses greater power than her Imperial consort, was surrounded by clever and accomplished women, who also had an ample share of authority. This fact gave all the greater motive to the development of Japanese literature, and to the encouragement of its productions. It was no wonder that men, under these circumstances, should be influenced by women, and gradually come to study Japanese literature in addition to their own.

“A woman first of all influences her husband. The popular saying, ‘The husband and wife are like each other,’ speaks the same truth. Again, she is the mistress of the family, and as such her power in the family is immense. Most great men have received their greatness from their mothers rather than from their fathers. This power is surprising. What the mother likes, the child likes, and her tastes will become the tastes of the family. If women possess such a wonderful power, and if Japanese literature had its rise under the influence of women, we cannot but feel the greatness of their responsibilities

in the future of our literature. . . . Our literature must be national and popular. It is, I take it, the duty of women to encourage and promote this national literature, nay, they ought to make a new literature, as the court ladies of yore made the classics. Let them compose new poetry, let them write new novels. We cannot help expecting much from women, so that they may exert their power in such a way as to make the men of the present day abandon their Chinese literature. In the accomplishment of this mighty work, I trust our women will take an active part." To be entrusted with the honourable duty of preserving the national sentiments is scarcely the task of a degraded and despised section of the nation !

The conquest of Korea opened up the road for the introduction of Confucianism, Mencian doctrines, and Buddhism, all of which were prejudicial to the equality of the sexes. Dr. Gulick says : " The notions and ideals presented by Buddhism in regard to women are clear, and clearly degrading. She is the source of temptation and sin, she is essentially inferior to man in every respect. Before she may hope to enter Nirvana she must be born again as a man." A Japanese Confucianist, in his famous " The Whole Duty of Woman," said : " The five worst maladies that afflict the female mind are, indocility, discontent, slander, jealousy, and silliness. Without any doubt these five maladies infest seven or eight out of every ten women, and it is from these that arises the inferiority of women to men. The worst of them all, and the parent of the other four, is silliness. Women's nature in comparison with man's is as the shadow to the sunlight. Hence, as viewed from the standard of man's nature, the foolishness of a woman consists in failing to understand the duties that lie before her very eyes, perceives not the actions that will bring down blame upon her own head, and comprehends not even the things that will bring down calamities on the heads of her husband and children. Such is the stupidity of her character that

it is incumbent on her, in every particular, to distrust herself and to obey her husband."

"The introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism," says Professor Naruse, "created great changes in the position of women. And yet so powerful were women in society, when these two religions came to Japan, that their rapid spread in our country was due to the earnest endeavours of women. The pioneers of Japanese Buddhism were women, and the honour of being sent to India for further investigation of the religion fell upon three women—Jenshinni, Jenzoni, and Keizenni. Not only in religious, but also in political and literary life, women still played a remarkable part for many years after the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism. Many of the greatest old Japanese classics were produced by women of this age. Active and influential in society as our women continued to be for a considerable length of time after the coming in of Buddhism and Confucianism, yet the influence of these religions manifested itself in the gradual lowering of women's position to one of comparative insignificance."

The feudal system, with its prominence of the military element, did not allow the position of women to rise, but, on the other hand, it did not degrade them. The Japanese chivalry differed from that of the West, in that women figured far less in it as a motive force.

"In no respect," writes the well-known Japanese educationalist, Professor Nitobe, "does our chivalry differ more widely from the European than in its attitude toward the weaker sex. 'In Europe, gallantry,' says St. Palaye, 'is, as it were, the soul of society.' The so-called *gai sabreur*—gay science of war and gallantry—was studied and exalted into laws more imperious than those of military honour. And what did it amount to? We see Gibbon blush as he alludes to it; we hear Hallam call it 'illicit love'; Freeman and Green use terms even more severe. Still, there was a grain of truth in it. Were it not for

these, where would the ladies of Christendom have been? Cornish repeats over and over again that courtesy to women was not a feature of European chivalry, but that it was learned from the Saracens. We on our part had no Saracens to teach us; the Chinese sages and Buddhist monks gave us only depreciatory notions of womankind. It is a matter of constant surprise to me that, with all their great influence, Confucianism and Buddhism did not degrade our women's social position. Whatever gallantry we had was our own, and this was due, first of all, to the teaching of manliness, which enjoined upon the knights to be clement to the weak; it was due, in the next place, to the teaching of reverence for parents, making sacred the person of women as actual or potential mothers. I am neither so blind nor so partial as to assert that among the samurai there existed no gaiety or lax frivolity, no love of adventure; but these were side issues, never forming part of the precepts of knighthood, as *gai sabreur* did of European chivalry. Nothing is more erroneous than to regard the character of the samurai women as anything like that of the geisha type; it was, indeed, the very contrast between them that was the *raison d'être* of the latter; for the former was a sedate, and even stern, earnest 'home-made body,' with little tact for entertaining and much less for amusing, better versed in ancient poems than in the newest songs, and more deft with swords and spears than with guitars and samisen. Plutarch tells us that the ambition of a Spartan woman was to be the wife of a great man, and the mother of illustrious sons. Bushido set no lower ideal before our maidens; their whole bringing up was in accordance with this view. Upland's couplet that 'she thrives in sunshine, but our strength in storm and rain,' did not apply to the training of our girls. They were instructed in many martial practices, in the art of self-defence, that they might safeguard their person and their children; the art of committing suicide, that in case no alternative opened but

disgrace, they might end their lives in due order and comely fashion. Peaceful accomplishments—music, dancing, belles-lettres, flower arrangements, etc.—were not to be neglected, but readiness for emergency, housekeeping, and the education of children were considered by far the most weighty lessons to be learnt. The inuring of nerves to hardship was a necessary part of their training. Sobs and shrieks were regarded as unworthy of a samurai woman. We read of a mother, in whose presence her daughter was slaughtered, calmly composing an ode—‘The mosses growing hidden in the bottom depth of an ancient well may bring to strangers’ ken the fluttering of their leaves, but never may my heart betray its emotions to human eye.’

“Bushido tried to gauge the value of women in the battlefield and by the hearth. There she counted for nothing, here for all. As a social, political unit she received little attention, as a wife and mother she received highest respect and deepest affection. While fathers and husbands were absent in field or camp, the government of the household was left entirely in the hands of the mothers and wives. The education of the young, even their defence, was entrusted to the women. Even under the feudal system, exposed to the full force of Indian and Chinese doctrines, the women of Japan were not degraded. One of the most potent factors in remodelling Buddhist doctrines to meet the requirements of the Japanese was the necessity of altering its attitude towards women.”

The Restoration and the beginning of the new era brought a period wherein the social position of women no longer remained stationary, but advanced steadily. In 1871 several girls accompanied the special mission to the United States in order to be placed in educational institutions. The Emperor issued a proclamation, in which the following passage occurred :—

"Females heretofore have had no position socially, because it was considered they were without understanding ; but if educated and intelligent, they should have due respect."

Women were not the only class of the community who suffered from feudalism by losing social position, it was a disadvantage which they shared with the merchants and traders, to mention no others. This fact must not be lost sight of when considering the comparatively low social position of women at the time of the Restoration. A Japanese writer of this period vigorously protested against the idea that Japanese women had been forced into a degraded position :—

"From the earliest dawn of our recorded history, women have enjoyed equal rights with men, and, although abuses may have crept in among our lower classes, womanhood has never been degraded in Japan. Whatever customs have been introduced among the lower classes, through the pernicious teachings of Chinese literature, have been constantly resisted by our better classes. Never original in Japan, our efforts have been to eradicate them as fast as possible. In proof of these assertions, I refer to our ancient history, showing that, out of one hundred and twenty-four sovereigns, rulers of Japan, nine empresses are included in the list. These women ruled long and wisely. Under the rule of an Empress, Japan attacked and conquered Korea. . . . Under the rule of an Empress, Japan attained high literary culture, religion was inculcated and respected, and facilities for general education were greatly improved. . . . Finding our ancient practice confirmed by the experience of Western nations, Japan need not hesitate now to enforce among all classes that respect and consideration for women which has never been wanting about her court, and among her better families. Thus may Japan hope to insure the stability of her civilization, and regain her early chivalry, and, by enlisting

the assistance of educated mothers and daughters, secure a noble future."

Women's education early formed a very important part of the educational system. An official report declared that "female education is the source from which general education should be diffused over the whole country," and this was the idea actuating the whole policy of instruction. Women's education was recognized as the vital mainspring of national progress. "The future destinies of the child are the work of the mother," said Napoleon, and that is undoubtedly the opinion held in Japan, which has had much to do with the perfecting of women's education. "Send the children to school," wrote one of the heroes of the blocking expedition at Port Arthur, to his wife; "their becoming good or bad lies with you." Count Okuma, who has done much for women's education, declared that he "felt always that it was only logical and right that women should receive equal education with men, should they so desire." "The women of Japan," said Mr. Fukusawa, "have just as much right to education in art and science and literature as the men, and it is even more important to the nation that they be permitted to enjoy it because they exercise an even greater influence than the men upon the destiny of our country. A Japanese mother forms the character of her sons more than their father. This is quite as true here, perhaps even more so, than in any other nation, and she should be fitted to perform that important duty. . . . In olden times a woman carried a dagger in her girdle to be used as a last resource. In modern times a thoroughly enlightened mind will be her best protection against the dangers to which she is exposed."

The principle of women's education once decided upon, the method only remained to be settled. In deciding along what lines woman's education should proceed, Japan found little assistance in any foreign country save the

United States of America. Gradually they have evolved an educational system which, taking into consideration, as it does, the peculiar conditions existing in Japan, promises to raise the standard of women's knowledge and position very successfully. The broad lines of woman's education may be gathered from the following opinion of Professor Naruse, the president of the first women's university of Japan.

"The importance of intellectual discipline for women," he says, "cannot be over-estimated. Women need to have their powers of observation, experiment, and application cultivated. If their minds are well disciplined in these directions they will prove themselves very useful and successful in whatever work they undertake. The advocates of women's education in future should recognize this point, and put a due emphasis upon this intellectual training. There is another point to which we should give attention in the education of our girls. We should conduct our schools in such a way that the school-life may never disqualify girls for their home-life when they finish their study and return to their homes. Modern institutional education has many evils as well as advantages, and its greatest evil for girls is the danger of making them unfit for their future home duties. How to avoid this danger is a problem that remains to be solved in the future, not only in our country, but also in Western countries. The girls we receive into our schools are Japanese girls, not the girls of any other nation. Their past associations, their present condition, and their future needs must be taken into account in the aims and methods of their education. They need a peculiar education suited to their own sex. The aim and purpose of the education of Japanese girls should be to make them perfectly develop their innate gifts, and help them to assimilate the good qualities of their foreign sisters.

"Women must be educated not only as women, but

also as members of society and citizens. The education of our girls hitherto has been very defective on this point. It has made women a little better qualified for their household duties than before, but not qualified for rendering service to society. It has been entirely overlooked that a woman has duties to society as much as to her family. In the education of the future we must look upon a woman in her broader relations, and endeavour to strengthen in her the consciousness that she is a member of society, so that she may contribute something both directly and indirectly to society at large.

“Still further, women must be educated not only as members of society, but also as souls. They must not be looked upon as things or instruments for practical uses, but as sacred human being with faculties of mind and body that are capable of infinite development. We must educate women first as souls, then as members of society, and then as women, or our education will never be perfect.”

With reference to the home-life of the Japanese people and the position of the woman in the home and in the community, it is impossible to do better than to quote the views of Mrs. Nitobe, an American lady, who married the famous Japanese professor. Gifted with a brilliant intellect and keen observation, Mrs. Nitobe has had unparalleled opportunities of observing, living as she does amongst the conditions of which she writes. She is not blinded by enthusiasm, and it is impossible to place too high a value upon her observations.

“Never was there a falser libel against any nation than this assertion regarding Japan: ‘To the Japanese, home has no meaning in the Western sense, for there is no home where “honour thy father” is the sole rule, the mother, wife, and sister not being deemed worthy even of respect.’ There is within my circle of acquaintance, which cannot be called a small one, no home where

respect for father and mother is not instilled. I do not say that every woman in Japan is happy, or that injustice to her sex is unknown, or that her legal and social status cannot be improved. Woman is here in what might be called the domestic stage of social development—very rapidly passing into more public life, it is true. Nothing makes me more hopeless of Western powers of comprehension than the oft-repeated statement that Japanese women are mere dolls and butterflies ; that they ‘have no recognized place in the Japanese scheme of existence.’ Then there rise before me the Empresses who reigned over the country with wisdom and renown in the centuries before Japan took from Europe the Salic law of succession ; the women who were and are among her best writers ; the thousands who teach in the schools, and who must pass Government examinations to take their places in them—the laws compelling primary education for girls as well as boys throughout the land ; the noble wives and beloved mothers whom I personally honour, and who are exalted in their own families ; and my spirit resents it with indignation when it is lightly said that these know neither respect nor affection in the home circle, and have no influence upon the nation’s life. . . . A Japanese man said to me once, ‘I rarely speak of my mother, for a foreigner does not understand that a Japanese mother may be just as dear to her son as his to him, and by the Japanese it is not expected that one should utter one’s deepest feelings.’ That son fainted of grief when his mother died. He carries his mother’s letters with him beautifully mounted. Even to his wife, despite the closest bond of love, he says not, ‘this is the day of my mother’s death.’ It is a well-known fact that the Emperor himself consults the Empress upon grave questions of State, having high regard for her character and judgment, and it is patent to all who know the inner life of the Japanese that the wife has large control of family affairs, the training

and education of the children being principally left to her direction, and the expenses of the household in very many cases being almost entirely in her control. So true is this that much is now said and written here upon the power of the wife to make or wreck her husband's financial standing."

The influence of the Empress of Japan is enormous, and exerted without flagging along the path of women's progress. To her is due much of the progress that has been made; her active interest stimulates every branch of woman's work. The Peeress School for the daughters of the higher classes is her special care, and she comes in to inspect it at any time. An industrial school for women is under the Empress's patronage. The Women's University received a large subscription to aid it in the perfecting of higher education for women. The Empress is the moving spirit of the magnificent Red Cross Society of Japan and its attached organizations. The patroness of art and music, of literature and learning, the Empress of Japan has her counterpart in Europe in the person of that wonderful personality, Queen Elizabeth of Roumania. Both these great women have done marvels in their separate spheres, and although Japan is great and Roumania is small, the work of both has been almost identical. Every additional action of hers for the good of the nation is an added step towards the perfect equality of woman with man. The silver wedding of the Emperor and Empress of Japan was the occasion of unequalled and unparalleled enthusiasm, which received its greatest incentive from the almost equal part played in the ceremonies by the first woman of the land. The Crown Prince's marriage was another departure from custom, and marked further progress. The vows of bridegroom and bride were mutual, and the Crown Princess received the guests after the ceremony standing with the Crown Prince. Although the Salic law was adopted in Japan—one of the Western improvements

introduced—thus rendering impossible the accession of an Empress to the throne, the Imperial House law empowers the women of the Imperial family to become regents during the minority of the Emperor. "The regency shall be assumed in the following order: 1. An Imperial prince, or a prince. 2. The Empress. 3. The Empress-Dowager. 4. The Grand Empress-Dowager. 5. An Imperial princess, or a princess. A female member of the Imperial family to assume the Regency shall only be one who has no consort."

There are to-day many women in Japan who are living examples of the freedom of the sex, and the possibilities it possesses of rising in the community. The many princesses are all well educated and ardent workers in the national cause. Mrs. Hatoyama, the wife of the eminent lawyer and politician, is a prominent figure in politics and in the cause of women's rights. Educated in America, she has a trained intelligence able to cope with the most intricate questions of politics or social affairs, and occupies a unique position among Japanese women. Miss Tsuda's work for higher women's education has resulted in much good, and into it she has poured all the knowledge stored up during her education in America, whither she went with the first special mission in the seventies. The Marchioness Nabeshima, the Marchioness Oyama, Miss Shimoda, and Madame Yamakawa are only a few names among the many Japanese women who, by their example and by their work, are proving to their sisters that they have the right to make what they will of their life, if only they have the desire.

The sphere of business has also its prominent women. Notable amongst these is Mrs. Hirooka Asa, of Osaka, who is one of the leading financiers of Japan. She is the guiding spirit and organizer of the famous banking firm of Kajima. Daughter of the Mitsu family, she married Mr. Hirooka before the Restoration at the age

of seventeen. Her family were banking agents of feudal barons, and the business was broken up by the ending of the feudal system. But Mrs. Hirooka assumed control, reorganized the whole administration of the business, and was almost at once rewarded by success. One of the first to recognize the value of the Japanese coal deposits, she had to overcome the opposition of her own family in developing them at Moji, now a famous coaling centre. Thus she was able at first to command practically no capital, and had only her own personal credit. She won out, however, and added largely to the wealth of the business. Since then she has sold all her collieries at profitable prices, and devoted herself to the expansion of the banking business. Mrs. Hirooka devotes her wealth and her intellect towards the betterment of the condition of the women of Japan. She was one of the principal founders of the Woman's University of Tokyo, and in her banks she employs educated girls as clerks. She is working towards the establishment of new departments which shall be almost exclusively in the hands of women clerks and employees.

Madame Koto, a Japanese lady, educated in Massachusetts, was placed in charge by the Ministry of Education, before she was thirty years of age, of all the kindergartens of the public-school system. In the schools of Japan there are many thousands of women teachers, and their numbers increase regularly. There is a famous woman physician of whom it has been said that "Japan owes her a debt of gratitude." Madame Muramutsu Shihi-Ko was the daughter of a doctor of the Chinese school, and the widow of a doctor who had taken up modern methods. She perfected herself in obstetrics, and commenced to practise. Later she founded a school for trained nurses, which is patronized by all the leading ladies and doctors. In the realms of poetry, art, and literature the women of Japan are but maintaining the traditions of their sex, by playing

a very prominent part. These are only a few examples, which might with ease be multiplied.

It must never be forgotten, while considering this question of woman's position, that in Japan the female half of the population carry on as much of the work of the nation as the male. In the fields they work side by side with the men, while in the spinning and weaving industries more women are employed than men. This was so even in early times. When private ownership of land was forbidden about 600 A.D., the cultivable State land was divided amongst the people for cultivation equally at the rate of 2 tan ($\frac{1}{2}$ acre) per man and $1\frac{1}{3}$ tan per woman. The lesser allowance granted to women was because of their household duties rendering them unable to cultivate quite as much as the man. Women give to Japan one of the great natural strengths in that they enable the agriculture and the industry of the country to proceed normally, even when hundreds of thousands of men are called from the reserve to the colours. The women working in the field or at the loom are regarded in Japan as attaining just as completely to the heroic standard of all true patriots as the soldier or sailor. And the patriotism which fires the women of Japan as fully as the men is the motive force which has driven and is driving them along the path of progress. As mothers of the future generations, as helpmeets to the present men, and as women workers in the sacred cause of the nation, the women of Japan are becoming educated and ready to avail themselves of the liberty and of the rights accorded to them by the law. "In no respect," says Mr. Gubbins, "has modern progress in Japan made greater strides than in the improvement of the position of woman. Though she still labours under certain disabilities, a woman can now become a head of a family and exercise authority as such; she can inherit and own property, and manage it herself; she can exercise parental authority; if single or a widow she can adopt;

she is one of the parties to adoption affected by her husband, and her consent, in addition to that of her husband is necessary to the adoption of her child by another person; she can act as guardian or curator, and she has a voice in family councils."

That, even early in the new era, the position of woman was not insufferable, may be judged from the following, which is from the pen of Professor Lloyd, who has resided some considerable time in Japan:—

"As my personal acquaintance with things Japanese increased," he says, "I found that the woman occupied a very important position in the domestic economy of the Japanese household. In the lower middle classes so many of the shops were managed by the women; one so often found that the landlady of a country inn was so thoroughly capable of conducting the whole of the difficult business of hotel-keeping, that I felt that in practical life a Japanese woman was, as far as her narrower sphere of life went, quite the equal of her Western sister. I found the same in the higher classes, as my circle of acquaintances gradually increased. The mother, and still more the grandmother, was everywhere a power in the household, and, consequently, I suppose a power in the land; and, on the principle that there is always fire where there is smoke, I concluded that the universal deference paid to the elder women in the country showed that they were worthy of deference."

With woman's position, as laid down by law in the new Civil Code, Professor Nobushige Hozumi, the eminent jurist, who was one of those entrusted with the task of codification, dealt at the Congress of Law in St. Louis.

"*Three periods* may be distinguished," he says, "in the history of Japan, as to the legal position of woman; the *first*, corresponding to the period during which our national law consisted solely of indigenous elements; the *second*, when Japanese law belonged to the Chinese family of

law; and the *third* dating from the time when our law passed from the Chinese to the European family of law.

"The first period extends from the beginning of our history to the introduction of Chinese civilization. During this period women seem to have occupied a higher place than in later times, filling positions of importance and honour in state, religion, and the household. Perhaps the higher position which women occupied during the early period of our history was due partly to the primitive simplicity and the absence of artificial doctrines, which later on assigned a subordinate position to women. The First Imperial Ancestor, and the central figure in national worship, is a goddess 'Amaterasu Omikami,' or the 'Great Goddess of the Celestial Light.' There was no law to prevent female members of the Imperial family from ascending the throne, and there have been many Empresses who ruled the empire. The Empress Jingo invaded and conquered Korea at the head of a large army.

"With the conquest and subjugation of Korea by this 'Empress of God-like Exploit' begins the second period in the history of the legal position of woman in Japan; for from this time Chinese civilization began to enter Japan, first through Korea, and afterwards from China directly. It was chiefly the doctrines of Chinese moral philosophy that changed the primitive state of comparative freedom and independence of woman, and placed her in an abnormally inferior position.

"But in the third period, during which European civilization has been introduced, female education has spread throughout the country, Western jurisprudence has superseded Chinese, and Japanese law has become a member of the European family of laws, a great revolution has come over the social and legal position of woman. This reform was consummated by the publication of the new Civil Code. This code 'created the new legal woman,'

as an able writer on Japan has expressed it. It proceeds upon the principle of equality of the sexes, and makes no distinction between man and woman in their enjoyment and exercise of private rights, so long as the woman remains single. She may now become the head of a house, in which case all house-members, whether male or female—even her husband when she is married—come under her power and are legally dependent upon her. She may exercise parental authority over her own child if her husband be dead. She may adopt children, either alone, when she is single or a widow, or in conjunction with her husband, when married. She may make any contract or acquire or dispose of property in her own name. In short, she may be a party to any legal transactions, as long as she remains *femme sole*. When she is married, her state of coverture obliges her to obtain the permission of her husband in doing certain acts, which may involve grave consequences upon their conjugal life; such as contracting debt, acquisition or loss of immovables or valuable movables, instituting legal proceedings, accepting or renouncing succession, entering into contract of personal service, etc. Even in regard to these acts, she cannot be considered as labouring under legal incapacity, for when she does these acts without her husband's permission, they are not void, but only voidable, that is, liable to be annulled by her husband (Civil Code, Art. 14). With her husband's permission, she may engage in business, in which case she is considered in regard thereto as an independent person (Civil Code, Art. 15). That the Civil Code places husband and wife on an equal footing, except when consideration for their common domestic life requires some modifications, may be seen from the provision of Art. 17, which allows a wife to do the acts above mentioned without the permission of her husband 'when the interests of the husband and wife conflict,' and also from the provision of Art. 790, in which it is stipulated that 'a husband

and wife are mutually bound to support and maintain each other.'

"The compilers of the new code have taken a decided step, and leaped, at one bound, *from the system of complete merger of wife's property in that of the husband to the system of separate property*. According to the code (Arts. 793-807), persons who are about to marry are allowed to make any contract with regard to their conjugal property, which will be binding upon them and can be set up against a third person, if registered before the registration of the marriage. If such contract be not made between them, their relations in regard to property are governed by the general rules of conjugal property, which, among others, lays down the fundamental rule, that the property belonging to a wife at the time of marriage, or acquired after marriage in her own name, shall be her separate property (Civil Code, Art. 807). It is interesting to note that in England the system of separate property was only introduced a few years ago.

"The reform in the law of divorce, which the new Civil Code made, also marks a great advance as regards the legal position of woman. . . . In the sixth year of Meiji (1873) the following law (No. 162) was enacted, which, for the first time, allowed the wife to bring an action of divorce against the husband: 'Whereas it has frequently happened that a wife asked divorce from her husband on account of unavoidable circumstances, to which the latter unreasonably withheld his consent for many years, thereby causing her to lose the opportunity of second marriage, and whereas this is an injury to her right of freedom, it shall be henceforth allowed to the wife to bring an action against her husband, with the assistance of her father, brother, or other relative.' This law may be considered a revolution in the legal position of woman. The new Civil Code goes a stretch further, and places husband and wife on an equal footing in this respect.

According to the Code *two kinds of divorce* are recognized, *consensual* and *judicial*, the former being effected by arrangement of parties, while the latter is granted by a court of law on several grounds specified in Art. 813 of the code. The grounds for judicial divorce include, *inter alia*, bigamy, adultery, sentence for an offence of grave nature, such cruel treatment or gross insult as make living together unbearable, desertion with evil intent, cruel treatment or gross insult of or by lineal ascendant, uncertainty, for a period of three years or more, whether the consort is alive or dead. Consensual divorce requiring the *consent of both parties* is a bilateral act, whereas divorce during the second period was an *unilateral act*, which took place at the will of the husband, who gave her a 'letter of divorce' formulated as a custom, in three lines and a half 'Mikudarihan,' stating that he gave her a dismissal, and nothing should henceforth stand in the way of her marrying again. As to the judicial divorce, either party to marriage can claim divorce from the other, if any of the grounds specified by law exists, so that the husband and wife are now placed on an equal footing in this respect."

This remarkable condition of affairs certainly does not seem to indicate that women of Japan are to be regarded as less well-treated than their sisters in the West, where often there is a decided preference in divorce laws in favour of the male sex.

The education which women receive is designed to enable them to take advantage of these legal rights and claim their equality. True, Japanese women have no votes in the election of members of Parliament; but this disability is shared by many of the people, the franchise being restricted, and only enlarged as the nation becomes fully aware of its duties. There is no bar placed in the way of the women of Japan, and since in the nation the voice of the united people directs the path to be followed, it is probable that the future will see Japan still leading the

way in the recognition of the rights of women. But all such progress will be the result of the educated wish of the women themselves, not the artificial product of agitators and politicians. The more rights secured by women the greater will be the national stability, because the Japanese women excel even the Japanese men in patriotism.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MORAL QUESTION

"It is quite a customary remark of foreign tourists," writes Professor Nitobe, "that Japanese life is as singularly lacking in morals as Japanese flowers are in scent—a sad confession of the moral and intellectual tone of the tourists themselves! Those who associate fragrance with roses only, or morality with conventional Christianity, are sure to be disappointed in finding but little of either in Japan; but that is no proof that the *umi* blossoms are not fragrant, or that chivalry does not teach the best conduct of life. There is, however, good reason for the busy West to know so little of the Far East, especially regarding things that cannot be bought or sold with cash, for we have made neither the essence of the *umi* to be bottled in flasks, like attar of roses, nor the precepts of knighthood to be bound into a gilt-edged pocket edition like Episcopal or Methodist theology."

If the famous Japanese professor is bitter, there is cause enough for it. Tourists to Japan seem to consider that when they step off the steamer they leave all their ethical responsibilities behind. That immorality which forms so large a part of European life secretly, the visitors to Japan think can be indulged in openly without shame, and be only following out the customs of the country. Whether a civilization so external as to permit its citizens to drop it as a garment, to sink to a lower level and change their very mode of life because they find themselves in

altered surroundings, is admirable or not, is decidedly an open question. The immorality of Japan has gone forth to the world as the verdict of eye-witnesses. Principal among these foreigners must be ranked Pierre Loti, who deliberately placed himself beyond the pale of decent society, and described his life with a Japanese courtesan as an existence typically Japanese. It may have been typically Pierri Loti ; it was no more typically Japanese than it would be representative of England were a Japanese to set up an irregular establishment in St. John's Wood, and describe his life there as indicative of English domesticity. The charges of immorality in Japan reflect little credit upon those who make them. The average tourist would have to confess to a sorry record of visits were he called upon to justify his accusations. What would be thought of a visitor to London who based his opinions of the morality of the English nation solely upon Piccadilly and Regent Street at night? And yet that is the nature of the accusations against Japanese morals, as far as sexual morality is concerned !

What is done in the Western countries clandestinely and by stealth is, in Japan, regulated by a law along lines which ensure its restriction, and prevent the national existence being sapped by immorality. The streets of Japanese cities know nothing of the flaunting vice of the West. In Japan, immorality has to be decided upon and sought ; it does not seek. It cannot flaunt its plumage enticingly before the dazzled eyes of immature youth. If prostitution be a necessary or even transitory evil, as would appear from the condition of even the most Christian and civilized nations of the West, then is it not far better, ask the Japanese, to acknowledge its existence, and take such steps as will limit its scope, and enable remedies to be applied, if there is a remedy to be found? In the cities of England and America theoretically there is no vice, none being recognized, but that does not imply

its non-existence. The necessity of crusades against the white slave trade is a sufficient affirmative to its prevalence. In Japan the existence of immorality is admitted and is regularized ; in England or elsewhere it is condoned. But are the English a more moral race because, ostrich-like, the nation hides its head in the sand, and does not look at the vice exposed in its streets ?

The regulation of vice in Japan is under the charge of the police, and is very strictly arranged. The courtesans have to reside in a special quarter, and may not issue forth save under exceptional circumstances. The entrance to these quarters is furnished with a police-box, and those who enter are required to give their names, residences, and occupations. The efficiency of the police system renders it dangerous to give false details. This book is open to the inspection by the public as well as the police, so that there is no concealment possible. Nor is such concealment sought, save by foreigners. The Japanese frankly admit the institution, and those who indulge themselves do so openly, and not clandestinely. The medical inspectors are very strict, and the whole institution is as adequately managed as it is possible to be. The police regulations as to the founding of such houses, and the admission of girls into them, are very precise, and allow the inmates to leave their employment should they desire to lead a virtuous life. Gradually also the condition of the girls is being improved, and the number of inmates is being reduced. "The fees charged are imposed by the police, and printed schedules, with the regulations, must be posted in conspicuous places for the information of visitors. Neither the keepers nor inmates are allowed to solicit custom either orally or by written or printed invitations ; and they are forbidden to request or even invite guests to partake of refreshments, or accompany the women to their rooms."

It must be confessed that the social evil has enormously

increased since the advent of the foreigner. In the last thirty or forty years public as well as secret prostitution has enormously increased. The latter is due almost entirely to the demands of foreign visitors, accustomed to Western customs, to whom is due also the increase of immorality in many of the hotels. This is not found in the hotels and inns frequented solely by Japanese guests. A recent writer, an American missionary, Mr. Gulick, whose book, "The Evolution of the Japanese," is an interesting attempt at interpretation, says on this subject—"Justice to the actual ideals and life of old Japan forbids me to leave, without further remark, what has been said regarding the ideals of morality in the narrower significance of this word. Injunctions that women should be absolutely chaste were frequent and stringent. Nothing more could be asked in the line of explicit teaching on this theme. And, furthermore, I am persuaded, after considerable inquiry, that in old Japan, in the interior towns and villages, away from the centre of luxury and out of the beaten courses of travel, there was purity of moral life that has hardly been excelled anywhere. I have repeatedly been assured that if a youth of either sex were known to have transgressed the law of chastity, he or she would at once be ostracized, and that such transgressions were consequently exceedingly rare. It is certainly a fact that in the vast majority of the interior towns there have never, until recently, been licensed houses of prostitution."

Old Japan was not an immoral nation, and, looking at the facts fairly, it must be confessed that it is difficult to see on what foundation the wholesale condemnation of modern Japan rests. It is estimated by the Rev. W. G. Murphy, who has made the most exhaustive researches, that there are under 43,000 licensed prostitutes in Japan. The population of Japan is over 45,000,000. Of dancing girls there were 26,226, according to the same authority; but it is no more fair to assume that all the *geisha* are

immoral than it is to condemn the whole profession of acting because a few sin. Frank recognition of the existence of a social evil is not more immoral than the hypocritical concealment which permits the evil to spread and grow unregulated in all parts of Western cities.

Much comment has always been made upon the practice in Japan of both sexes bathing together, and this has been made an argument for Japanese immorality. It is probably true that, under similar conditions, in Europe, mixed bathing would be conducive to immorality, but in Japan it is not so. The American missionary, Mr. Gulick, writes—"The natural indifference of the Japanese to the exposure of the unclothed body is an interesting fact. In the West such indifference is rightly considered immodest. In Japan, however, immodesty consists entirely in the intention of the heart, and does not arise from the accident of the moment or the need of the occasion." Adam and Eve before the Fall were not immodest nor immoral because they lived without shame, and the Japanese, living closely in harmony with nature, are nearer the "Adam-and-Eve-before-the-Fall" condition than any other nation. If the thought be pure, the body is pure, is a doctrine which is not so far removed from the Bible teaching. It is difficult to reconcile the civilization which ordains *décolleté* gowns and ballet tights, "concealing but to display the human form divine," with that censorious world which finds in the bare legs of the ricksha coolie, or the woman labouring in the rice-field, an incentive to vice and a sign of national immorality.

This side of a nation's life, occupying as it does relatively so small a part of national existence, has been dealt with at greater length than it, perhaps, deserves, or is attractive largely because the question of sexual morality in Japan is one upon which there is so very much misapprehension. To allow the too common idea of Japanese morality to stand unrefuted, would have created a

contradiction to the whole idea of Japanese patriotic sentiment. A practical patriotism which not only demands the maintenance of the well-being of its State in the past and present, but in the future as well, is in itself sufficient to ensure Japan never being an immoral country. The idea of ancestor veneration, the duties of the present generation to the future generations, and the duty of subjects to the empire, all these demand that the nation shall be moral and not immoral. The effect of wholesale sexual immorality upon the race would be too grave not to receive due consideration. There can to the Japanese mind be no disputing the fact that the regulation of the social evil is more beneficial to the nation than the half-veiled acquiescence of the Western nations.

"There is one thing," says Mr. Lecky, "which is worse than corruption. It is acquiescence in corruption." The recognition by the Japanese that there is need for improvement in their moral condition is better than the *laissez-aller* policy of the West. Japanese pupils are regularly taught the principles of right-living, and their moral development is not left to the chance instruction derived from sectarian religious teaching. It would be surprising if the Japanese nation did not in the future succeed in overcoming, by its moral force, any immoral tendencies existing in human nature.

Second only to Japanese social immorality has been placed the immorality of her merchants. "Commercial morality," it is said, "has no place in Japan's dealings with foreigners!" "Among the bugbears placed in the way of Japan's tradal relations with foreign countries," says H. Satoh, director of the Commercial Museum of Tokyo, "nothing has been so strongly and extensively written about as the want of commercial morality among Japan's business men. It is true that until the time of the Restoration, the mercantile class was placed at the bottom of the four classes of society. It is also true that the mercantile

class were allowed a latitude for representing the truth in their own way so as to suit their purpose. But this condition of things has passed away. If falsification is anywhere strictly forbidden, it is in mercantile transactions, and in our commercial schools, where business men of the future are trained, the highest morality is taught and enforced. Much has been written against our mercantile class, but, to give you my impression as frankly as possible, I am prepared to say that our commercial morality is not such as sensational writers and speakers would have you believe. There are always two sides to a question. The detrimental reports are very much exaggerated. It may be attributed to prejudice embittered by failure in business, or it may be the result of a hasty conclusion drawn from a one-sided representation of our commercial standing. I do not deny the existence of facts proving want of commercial morality on the part of some of our merchants and traders, but Japan is not the only country where you can find facts and examples of moral weakness. If Japanese traders fail to act up to the requirements of a contract, the same liberty is assumed by some of the foreign merchants in Japan ; but the latter is never advertised, while the former is made the object of a long newspaper article or of a sensational speech. Without going any further on the subject, permit me to remark that, had Japan been as deficient in her commercial morality as many of the writers would have you conclude, our foreign trade would not have attained the yearly advance and expansion that it has. Let me add that all the typical merchants and traders of our country at present value their honour and reputation as much as life itself, and that in England's future relations, commercial or otherwise, with my country, she will not have much difficulty in finding Japanese traders in whom implicit confidence may be placed."

There might be palliation for commercial immorality, did it exist, even as extensively as is suggested by many.

Forty years ago Japan was a feudal country, and, as is always the case under such a system, the merchant class is the lowest, and has little need of moral principles. To obey and pay taxes are the two necessities of their existence, and livelihood depends rather upon slight regard for moral causes than upon business integrity. After the Restoration the feudal system was abolished, and to-day Japan is a great commercial and industrial nation. Never in the pages of history is there to be found so rapid a rise of the merchant class after the existence of feudalism. In England, even to-day, distinctions against trade exist in many of the higher-class schools, and thirty years after the feudal system it was infinitely more emphasized.

The great change was largely due to the recognition by the nation of the fact that in industries and commerce lay greater strength than in militarism. The courageous self-sacrifice also of men like Baron Shibusawa, who led the way towards the raising of the business standard, by becoming merchants, was an important factor. Japan is to-day commercially moral, and, what is more, she is striving to become more so. There is no "acquiescence in corruption." Faults are frankly acknowledged, and steps are taken towards improvement. When Baron Shibusawa makes the following statements, it does not imply that there is no morality existing. The Japanese recognition of the possibility and the necessity of improvement is to be regarded as one of the strongest signs of Japanese morality.

"There are," says Baron Shibusawa, "four peculiarities in the Japanese character which make it hard for the people to achieve business success. These are: Firstly, impulsiveness, which causes them to be enthusiastic during successful business, and progressive, even to rashness, when filled with enthusiasm; secondly, lack of patience, which causes easy discouragement when business is not so successful; thirdly, disinclination for union; and, fourthly,

they do not honour credit as they should, that which is so important a factor in financial success! These four peculiarities are to be met with in some of the Japanese business men in more or less marked degree. In spite of myself, I hesitate to say that Japan has as high morality in commerce as England, America, and Germany. As long as the present low state of morality continues, all our attempts to obtain capital from abroad will be absolutely futile. Laws may be improved, but the barrier of a low morality is by far stronger than that of bad laws. Let us use every possible means to improve the standard of our business morality. Another thing is that too much stress cannot be laid upon the necessity of unity. The Japanese are, indeed, a strange people. Individual attempts are good, but when they are made in a body troubles are sure to arise. I beseech all the business men of Japan to hold steadfast to the principle of 'in union there is strength.'" In the Bible parable, the Pharisee who thanked God that he was not as other men was placed lower than he who acknowledged his limitations!

The Restoration saw the merchants of Japan little fitted to maintain the "high commercial morality" of the foreign traders who settled in the ports. Perhaps it was the innate benevolence taught by Western civilization which led these foreigners to considerably relax their presumably usual code of morals, but this relaxation hardly tended to make them adequate moral guides for the development of the Japanese merchants! At the time of the Restoration Japan was a weak nation, the happy hunting-ground of those whose desire to shake the pagoda tree obscured their inclination towards strict business morality. There are numberless instances in which advantage was taken of the Japanese merchants, and even of the Japanese Government, by foreign merchants and foreign governments. If an object-lesson was afforded at all, it was one rather tending to convince the merchants of Japan that morality in business

was not a product of Western civilization. Despite the original handicap and the bad example of foreigners, the Japanese progress in commercial morality has steadily gone on.

The morality of China has been often compared to that of Japan, with results prejudicial to the latter. China has been the least military of nations, and her merchant class have always ranked high. "One does not use a piece of good iron to make a nail, or a good man to make a soldier," is a Chinese saying which demonstrates the low estimate held of the military profession. The statement that Chinese clerks are employed in foreign banks in Japan in preference to Japanese is not enough to prove Japanese immorality, for two reasons. Firstly, the foreign banks in Japan had previously branches in China, in which their Chinese clerks had already been instructed, and were available for the new establishments opened in Japan. Secondly, the foreign bankers and merchants in Japan prefer making use of Chinese clerks because they are also foreigners, although of another race to themselves, rather than the Japanese. It is in no way a reflection upon the commercial morality of the Japanese to-day, whatever it may have been in the early days of the new era.

The growth of the national wealth and of the trade are strong testimonies to Japanese commercial morality. Many are the safeguards established by the Japanese to prevent any possibility of commercial immorality gaining a foothold in the country. No cabinet minister may be at the same time a director of a company or in any way interested in public concerns. For Government offices no personal "pull" is allowed to be of assistance to a young man. In the very rare cases where this has happened there has been good reason for his selection, and he has always passed the necessary examinations. The son of a prominent cabinet minister, a young man with a Cambridge degree, was forced to serve as an interpreter in his father's

department because his residence abroad made him unable to pass in the Japanese language in the examinations!

A typical test of morality is to be found in the dishonouring of bills, which occurs so extensively in modern business centres. "In Japan," says Mr. Satori Kato, "the refusals to meet paper are very few, and each case is gazetted in the newspapers. At Tokyo, for example, which contains a million and a half souls, and which is constantly growing, the average number of bills, etc., refused was only forty-six per month for the period from June, 1903, to May, 1904. It is true that there is no country which is free from fraud, but there is much less fraud in Japan than in most countries. The Japanese should not be condemned as a nation—nor should any other race—because an insignificant number of business men deceive the public. Many safeguards are placed around business dealings in Japan which do not exist in other countries. In this respect we would call attention especially to the laws in reference to the formation of limited companies. The Japanese laws state that no company with a limited responsibility shall begin business until one-fourth of the capital has been paid in, while the watering of stock is only permitted upon rare occasions. In consequence of this very few incorporated bodies fail."

Joint-stock companies are liable to investigation by the order of the Department of Commerce and Agriculture at any time; and the district court can, on the requisition of shareholders representing one-fifth of the capital, order an inquiry. Very full powers are granted the investigating officials. In bankruptcy cases an assignee is appointed by the court, who has authority to act until affairs are settled up. As soon as this official is appointed the debtor is much restricted as to liberty of action. He is incapable of all commercial transactions; cannot hold any office of trust or emolument in any business house or company; his correspondence and telegrams may be

opened by the assignee ; of course, he cannot alienate his personal property. The law is not brutal, since, by showing that there is a way out of the financial difficulties, the debtor may obtain a decree of postponement.

"Again," writes Mr. Kato, "let us take a matter of general bearing and interest in commercial life, viz. the condition of credit ; in other words, the state of confidence which exists between seller and buyer. In London—or other large commercial centres—it is surprising how many precautions must be taken before venturing to give credit, and how, having taken every reasonable precaution, one is liable to incur a bad debt, if not be actually swindled. In Japan commercial people are still conservative, and sometimes unnecessarily nervous about giving credit or making an investment."

In Japan there are no Whittaker Wrights or Jabez Balfours, but, should such financial magnates arise, the entire national sentiment would be against them. It is not possible for a speculator to enjoy the pleasure of society while keeping just within the limits of the law.

"No feature of American life," says Mr. Lecky, "strikes a stranger so powerfully as the extraordinary indifference, partly cynicism and partly good nature, with which notorious frauds and notorious corruption in the sphere of politics are viewed by American public opinion. In America, notorious profligacy in public life and in the administration of public funds seems to excite little more than a disdainful smile. It is treated as very natural—as the normal result of the existing form of government."

In the *American Monthly Review of Reviews* appeared the following remarkable comment upon American commercial fraud, which is equally applicable to conditions nearer home : "The American public has already ceased to expect a criminal prosecution in cases where rascality of huge proportions is developed under cover of 'high finance.' This new type of crime is the subject of a

vigorously worded article by George N. Alger in the August number of the *Atlantic Monthly*. This writer shows that in our great cities there is an increasing volume of business done which is either fraudulent in itself or which depends upon fraudulent means for a large part of the financial success that it often obtains. He specifies, for example, fraud in obtaining credit by falsehood ; fraud in concealing and conveying property to avoid the just demands of creditors ; fraud in stealing trade-marks and trade-names ; fraud in the substitution, adulteration, and misrepresentation of goods ; fraud in bribing, 'commissions,' and 'special rebates' ; fraud in the promotion, organization, inflation, management, and destruction of corporations. All these types of fraud, as we are all aware, are perpetrated continually, and, in a majority of cases, without any criminal prosecution resulting. To show how prevalent are these iniquitous schemes, we have only to consult the advertising pages of almost any of our great metropolitan dailies. Mr. Alger's point is not that such frauds exist, for every one knows that they exist and flourish luxuriantly ; but that the significance is that in this country we do not think of these modern forms of criminal business as proper subjects for treatment by criminal law ; often we do not consider them as crimes at all. Mr. Alger insists that crimes of a more intellectual type, and especially those developed by the business methods and expedients of highly successful financiers, affect the moral welfare of the community as a whole more seriously than the simple and obvious forms which are committed by the common criminal.

"'Which, for example,' asks Mr. Alger, 'is really the greater enemy of American society, the Italian who in a fit of jealous frenzy murders his wife, or the promoter of a heavily watered corporation, who, by a fraudulent prospectus, induces the foolish innocent to lose thousands upon thousands of honestly earned dollars ? At the crime

of the Italian the moral sense of the community is shocked. Even his poor neighbours in his own tenement regard his offence with horror. The sphere of influence of such a murder is comparatively small, but the whole machinery of the law is immediately turned upon the criminal. If he flee, the police of the whole country aid in the search for him. He is quickly captured, quickly tried, and life-long imprisonment is the penalty. To the promoter whose successful operations enable him to live a life of ostentatious luxury, and with whom reputable men are apparently not unwilling to associate, the criminal law ordinarily has nothing to say.' "

In Great Britain the failure of a bank or the exposure of a contractor causes curiosity, and does not necessarily call forth abhorrence. Even when the nation's cause was being fought in Egypt, bayonets which corkscrewed failed to arouse any practical national indignation. Bad horses and bad stores supplied during the South African war have not led to the ostracizing of the contractors or delinquents, although in these cases the fraud meant the death of numbers of British subjects. No more striking proof of Japan's progress in commercial morality is to be found than in the fact of there being no contractor scandals in connection with this present war. War-time, as we have found ourselves, presents a special opportunity for commercial immorality. That Japanese merchants have been able to withstand this temptation tells more than pages of print.

Mr. Kato says: "Probity is the base of business, and we know it—and practise it. Who now doubts Japanese patriotism? And if Japan's patriotism be admitted, who can reasonably suppose that our patriotic nation would betray her national fame by stooping to unscrupulous and dishonourable methods in commerce? Nations are not more infallible than individuals—all are liable to error. At any rate, if we must fail, let us fail

honestly. But we shall not fail! The character of our national life is against such a conclusion."

Relatively no charge of immorality can be held against business Japan. Japan is commercially moral. The accusation that Japanese merchants copy foreign patent goods is simply a confession that foreign merchants do not take the trouble to patent their goods in Japan. The patent laws are excellent, and if the foreign merchants do not choose to take the trouble they consider necessary in other countries, they have only themselves to blame. It is a pertinent enquiry to ask how many foreign patent products would remain uncopied in England if they were not patented here. The very fact that an inventor hastens to secure patents in as many countries as possible is a sufficient answer. The pirating of the books of one country by the publishers of another is not a conclusive proof that the pirating country is morally rotten, however reprehensible the practice may be considered.

In minor moralities, if any moralities can be considered minor, the Japanese people shine predominantly. There is little or no drunkenness, cleanliness is much practised, politeness is regarded as one of the cardinal virtues. Even opium-smoking, which is indulged in in Japan's Formosan colony by the inhabitants, is being stamped out.

The fact that there is in Japan no "acquiescence in corruption," public or private, is the strongest proof that Japan is not an immoral nation, even though immoralities may exist in her midst. Personally and nationally moral, the Japanese may claim to have a more highly developed sense of international morality than any other great nation.

The moral codes drawn up by Mr. Fukuzawa, the great Japanese reformer, are so valuable and so instructive as to merit study by those who are interested. They were published in 1900, and the following translation is the work of Mr. Miyamori:—

"All Japanese, irrespective of sex or age, must obey the Crown of uninterrupted lineage, for there is none who has not participated in its unbounded benevolence. This is a point about which there is a perfect unanimity of opinion throughout the realm. Coming to another question of how the men and women of to-day should behave themselves, I must say that, diverse as have been from ancient times codes of morals, it is evident that a code must conform itself to the progress of the times, and that in society like the present, characterized as it is by ever-advancing civilization, there must be a code specially suited to it. Hence it follows that the tenets of personal morals and living must undergo more or less of a change.

"Everybody must make it his duty to act as a man, and must endeavour to elevate his dignity and to enhance his virtue. Men and women of our fraternity must regard the principle of independence and self-respect as the cardinal tenet of personal morals and living, and by inscribing it deeply on their hearts must strive to discharge the duties proper to man.

"He is called a man of independence and self-respect who preserves the independence of both mind and body, and who pays due respect to his person in a way calculated to maintain the dignity proper to man.

"Working with an independent will and subsisting without the help of others is the essence of the independence of life ; hence it follows that a person of independence and self-respect must be an independent worker besides being his own breadwinner.

"Taking care of the body and keeping it healthy is a duty incumbent on us all by reason of the rules that govern human existence ; both body and mind must be kept in activity and in health, and anything calculated to impair their health even in the least degree must be rigidly avoided.

"To complete the natural span of life is to discharge

a duty incumbent on man. Therefore, any person who, be the cause what it may, or be the circumstances what they may, deprives himself by violence of his own life, must be said to be guilty of an act inexcusable and cowardly, as well as mean, and entirely opposed to the principle of independence and self-respect.

"Unless pursued with a daring, active, and indomitable spirit, independence and self-respect cannot be secured ; a man must have the courage of progress and consistency.

"A person of independence and self-respect must not depend upon others in disposing of a question relating to his own personal affairs, but must possess the ability with which to deliberate and decide on it.

"The custom of regarding women as the inferiors of men is a vicious relic of barbarism. Men and women of any enlightened country must treat and love each other on a basis of equality, so that each may develop his or her independence and self-respect.

"Marriage being a most important affair in the life of man, the utmost care must be exercised in selecting a partner. It is the first essential of humanity for man and wife to cohabit till death separates them, and to entertain towards each other feelings of love and respect, in such a way that neither of them shall lose his or her independence or self-respect.

"Children born of man and wife know no other parents but their own, and in the same way the parents recognize no children besides their own. The affection existing between parents and their children is the purest kind of affection, and the first preliminary of domestic felicity consists in not interfering with the free play of this sentiment.

"Children are also persons of independence and self-respect, but while they are yet in their infancy their parents must take charge of their education. The children on their part must, in obedience to the instructions of their

parents, diligently attend to their work, to the end that they may get well grounded in the knowledge of getting on in society, after they have grown up into men and women of independence and self-respect.

"In order to act up to the ideal of persons of independence and self-respect, men and women must continue, even after they have grown up, to attend to their studies, and should not neglect to develop their knowledge and to cultivate their virtue.

"At first a single house appears, then several others gradually cluster round it, and a human community is formed. The foundation of a sound society must therefore be said to consist in the independence and self-respect of a single person and a single family.

"The only way to preserve a social community consists in respecting and not violating, even in the least, the rights and the happiness of the others, while maintaining at the same time one's own rights and one's own share of happiness.

"It is a vulgar custom and unmanly practice unworthy of civilized people to entertain enmity towards others, and to wreak vengeance upon them. In repairing one's honour and in maintaining it, fair means must always be employed.

"Every person must be faithful to his business, and anybody who neglects the duties of his state in life, irrespective of the relative gravity and importance of such duties, cannot be regarded as a person of independence and self-respect.

"Every one must behave towards others with candour, for it is by reposing confidence in others that one renders it possible for them to confide in him, while it is only by means of this mutual confidence that the reality of independence and native dignity can be attained.

"Courtesy and etiquette being important social means for expressing the sense of respect, they should not be

ignored even in the least degree, the only caution to be given in this connection is that both an excess and a deficiency of courtesy and etiquette should be avoided.

"It is a philanthropic act which may be regarded as a beautiful virtue of man, to hold the sentiment of sympathy and affection towards others, and so to endeavour not only to alleviate their pains, but also to further their welfare.

"The sentiment of kindness must not be confined to men alone, and any practice that involves cruelty to animals, or any wanton slaughter of them, must be guarded against.

"Culture elevates man's character while it delights his mind, and as, taken in a wide sense, it promotes the peace of society and enhances human happiness, therefore it must be regarded as an essential requisite of man.

"Whenever a nation exists there is inevitably a Government which attends to the business of enacting laws and organizing armaments with the object of giving protection to the men and women of the country, and of guarding their persons, property, honour, and freedom. In return for this, the people are under obligation to undergo military service and to meet national expenditure.

"It is a natural consequence that persons who undergo military service and pay the national expenditure should enjoy the right of sitting in the national legislature, with the view of supervising the appropriations for the national expenditures. This may also be considered as their duty.

"The Japanese people of both sexes must ever keep in view their duty of fighting with an enemy, even at the risk of their life and property, for the sake of maintaining the independence and dignity of the country.

"It is a duty of the people to obey the laws of the country. They should go further, and should attend to the duty of helping to enforce those enactments, with the object of maintaining order and peace in the community.

"Many as are the nations existing on the earth, with

different religions, languages, manners, and customs, the people constituting those nations are brethren, and hence no discrimination should be made in dealing with them. It is against the principles of independence and self-respect to bear one's self with arrogance and to look down on people of a different nationality.

"The people of our generation must fulfil the duty of handing down to our posterity and in an ameliorated form the national civilization and welfare which we have inherited from our forefathers.

"There must be more or less difference in the ability and physical strength of men born in this world. It depends upon the power of education to minimize the number of the incompetent and the weak ; for education, by teaching men the principles of independence and self-respect, enables them to find out and to develop the means to put those principles into practice and to act up to them.

"Men and women of our fraternity must not be contented with inscribing on their own hearts these moral tenets, but endeavour to diffuse them widely among the public at large, to the end that they may attain the greatest possible happiness—they with all their brethren all over the wide world."

CHAPTER XVIII

SCIENTIFIC COLONIZATION

THAT Japan can teach the world something worth learning in methods of colonization and the development of colonial territory may seem to many absurd. But in Formosa, the Japanese have afforded an object-lesson worthy of attention and given another example of national efficiency. The Japanese national spirit is strong enough to produce good results even beyond the shores of Japan. Formosa (Tai-wan) may be taken to include Hokoto—that is, the Pescadores—and the adjacent islands, numbering in all about twenty-six. The total area of this group is 15,535 square miles, and the total population in 1899 was 2,758,161, including 33,120 Japanese. The progress of Formosa since 1896 has been amazing. Russian engineers at Dalny never constructed such an enchanted edifice, springing up in a night, as has Japan in Formosa, in the face of most enormous difficulties. The island as ceded by China at the end of the Chino-Japanese War was in a state of seething rebellion. Many years before the cession, the Chinese had given up trying to control the turbulent inhabitants, and therefore the loss of the island was looked upon by them rather in the light of relief.

The Powers looked upon Formosa as a land of savages and pirates, and both France and Great Britain had practically refused the island. Even after the cession, the Japanese had to fight their way mile by mile, and it required a campaign of more than a year's duration before

the whole island was conquered. Even then disturbances were frequent, often stirred up by the former Chinese officials. Until the end of 1901 there was constant need for the maintenance of military forces, although a civil administration had been established on March 31st, 1896. All things considered, the ground upon which Japan had to demonstrate her ability to colonize was about as bad as could be imagined. That such brilliant success attended her efforts in a short decade reflects all the greater glory upon her abilities. Broad-minded as ever, the Japanese recognized the sentiments of the supposedly incorrigible Formosans, and, respecting their feelings and prejudices, gradually extended the organization of the administration—a policy of moderation being backed by sufficient severity to make it impressive. Literally the colonization work went on at first within the lines of Japanese sentries. It was, however, none the less effective, and was singularly free from any military tendencies. In fact, the principles which governed the Japanese policy in Formosa may be said to be the knowledge of the fact that the drainpipe and the schoolhouse are essential elements of progress. Missionary endeavour formed no part of the Japanese plan. Gently to improve the lot of the Formosan aborigine and guide him into the path of duty through the medium of gratitude, enforcing sanitary and educational methods, was the policy adopted. The Civil Governor of Formosa thus sums up the work Japan found before her in those early days: "Japan," he says, "had to provide for these islands a stable form of government, to enforce approved sanitary regulations, to introduce an equitable system of land taxation, to provide for the education of the natives, and to undertake beneficial public works. Lines of railway had to be constructed, suitable buildings erected for the housing of officials and the transaction of public business, harbours had to be dredged and improved in the interests of the

foreign and domestic trade, and a cadastre for the entire group of islands became absolutely necessary as a basis for the nationalization of the land and the assessment of the most important tax. Banking and monetary systems had likewise to be provided for the new colony."

Japan had the courage to undertake the development of her new colony on a suitable scale, being prepared to spend money lavishly in order to enable the land to pay its way at the earliest possible moment. The scheme was rendered more costly by the necessity for considerable and continuous military expenditure, but this notwithstanding, the Japanese Government showed itself ready to spend large sums of money on the necessary fundamental developments. To this large-minded understanding of the needs of the case must be ascribed much of the Japanese success in Formosa. The skill with which the Japanese made the Formosans recognize them as friends, even while war was going on, aided largely in assisting the other causes which together have combined to create in the island a practically self-supporting colony within the short decade of its acquirement. The outlay has been amply repaid, for it must be noted that nobody would condemn more whole-heartedly the mere spending of money lavishly on a colony than the Japanese. It is fundamentally necessary to them that the money shall be spent upon a practical, business-like basis, promising the maximum of result for the minimum of expense. Such a basis can only be secured as the result of a very thorough study of the local conditions, and especially by a policy in the Home Government which does not change with a change of administration. To be effective and economical, the Japanese hold that the scheme must be continuous and uninterrupted.

With reference to the sanitary conditions of Formosa before the Japanese conquest, nothing too bad can be imagined. Count Katsura, the present Prime Minister of

Japan, who was once Governor-General of Formosa, says, "It certainly was one of the prime duties of the Japanese Government to take necessary measures for the sanitary well-being of the island. The most difficult subject of opium-smoking, which actually involves questions of public peace, was forced upon the authorities. Measures relating to the prevention of epidemics—the drinking water and sewerage improvement—were decided novelties in Formosa. The health and even life of the natives are entirely exposed to the dangers appertaining to the climatic conditions of the land. Hence it was felt that to provide for the safety of their lives and for the enjoyment of sound health was the way to secure their attachment and devotion to the Imperial Government. There was also the necessity of encouraging immigration from Japan, for which the sanitary improvement of the island was a preliminary and necessary step."

The Japanese dug artesian wells by the thousand, as many as 800 being constructed in one district alone. Sewers and canals were built in the principal cities. Pure water is now obtainable, and the conditions of life are practically normal. In Taipeh, the capital, an entirely new system of drainage had to be introduced and good drinking water secured; then all the newly-built residences for the Japanese officials were constructed, with special care for sanitation. The improved health of the staff is indicative of the thorough success obtained in this direction. The mortality among them fell from 1·73 per cent. in 1896 to 1·1 per cent. in 1900. The average mortality for the entire population, excluding the savage tribes, is now 0·76 per cent. per annum.

Preventive measures were supplemented by corrective, and hospitals were amongst the earliest of the institutions inaugurated by the Japanese authorities.

There have been eleven hospitals already provided, of which the Taipeh is the largest. A regular service of

graduates of the Imperial University in medical science, or of specialists who have studied in Europe, have been secured for it. Besides the hospital physicians, there are no fewer than seventy-two qualified physicians, appointed and paid by the Government to render medical aid to the people, distributed about the island. At Taipeh, moreover, they have a school for training native physicians, the number of scholars, who are all supported by the Government, exceeding 100. The result of the training they receive is said to be in the main satisfactory.

A serious problem which confronted the Japanese sanitary authorities was the question of opium-smoking. Opium-smoking is a crime under the Japanese penal code, but special modifications thereof were made for the Formosans, many of whom were addicted to the habit to such a degree that the Japanese recognized that to deprive them of the drug absolutely would be intense cruelty. Confirmed opium-smokers have to be registered, and can get the drug under surveillance. It is remarkable testimony to the sincerity of the efforts to stamp out this practice, for every smoker stopped means a loss to the revenue. This problem enabled the Japanese to demonstrate their administrative morality. In 1900 there were 170,000 registered opium-smokers, whereas in 1902 there were only 153,000. "As to the question of opium-smoking," says Count Katsura, "some insisted upon its immediate prohibition, while others were in favour of the gradual extinction of that baneful custom. With Formosans it is a habit indulged in for generations, and in it is their only relish and refreshment. If a stop were put to this sole enjoyment of theirs, a reaction of a grave nature was inevitable; and should their resentment and enmity have exhibited themselves in a practical manner, the management of all public affairs in the island would have been seriously affected. With a view to gradually and eventually putting an end to this habit, the Government

decided that it would organize for this special branch of sanitation a complex and effective executive mechanism. The very importance of the measures demanded that they should be conducted on a much larger scale than the business of a petty department of the Civil Affairs Bureau. The establishment of an independent sanitary bureau was imperative in order to secure the carrying out of those measures with the best possible results. Later, by means of the creation of the opium monopoly, steps were taken towards the stamping out of the vice."

Mr. Goto's views on this important subject are very similar: "It goes without saying that the habit of smoking opium is pernicious, but when the Japanese took possession of Formosa they found there a population more or less addicted to the use of the drug. It was decided to abolish the practice by degrees. Only those who were already addicted to the use of the drug to the extent that it occasioned intense pain to deprive them of the pipe are now permitted, by a special warrant, which they are obliged to procure, to continue its use. To commence opium-smoking is strictly forbidden, or even to continue its use unless it can be shown that abstention is impossible. The Government monopoly of the article was expressly established to facilitate the final extinction of the opium habit. The revenue thus derived amounts at present to about £4,000,000 a year."

Japan's educational methods as applied to Formosa are equally interesting. She has gauged exactly the immediate necessities of the situation, and has met them adequately. Regarding education as the basis of all national progress, the Japanese have made allowances for the Formosan susceptibilities. It was not enough, in their minds, to train up a class of Japanese officials who could administer the island, they recognized the necessity of elevating the Formosand to an understanding of their civic duties and an ability to fulfil them. Their educational

scheme for Formosa goes far beyond mere elementary education, and every pains is taken to enable the Formosan students to carry on the educational work under Japanese supervision. Knowing themselves how much more can be accomplished along purely national lines, the Japanese are encouraging the Formosans to feel this same national pride and desire to help work out the national destiny.

"The education question," says Dr. Goto, "was a serious one. It is necessary to make the use of the Japanese language prevalent throughout the island, but in the mean time there is a pressing need of Japanese officials conversant with the native tongue. To meet these necessities, therefore, a Central Language School was established in Taipeh in the year following the cession of the island to Japan, for the double purpose of teaching the Japanese language to the natives and the native language to the Japanese.

"The Central Language School is divided into the Normal School Department and the Language School Department.

"In the Normal School Department, Japanese students are trained to serve as teachers in primary schools for native children, local language, naval, and primary schools for Japanese children. The number of children is at present forty-five.

"The Language School Department is again divided into two sections, one for the study of the Japanese language by native students, and the other for the study of the native language by Japanese students. The students in both sections are trained with the object of public service or private occupations in Formosa. Some native students in upper classes of Japanese language section have been given an elementary technical education, with special reference to the railway and telegraph service, and the experiment has proved successful.

"There are two language schools with eleven branches for teaching the Japanese language to the natives and helping them to improve their daily life. They have a staff of 20 teachers and 355 scholars. Three auxiliary schools are appended to the Central Language School. The first auxiliary school, with 251 scholars, is for the benefit of native young people, and is designed at the same time to show a model of elementary education in Formosa, and to furnish the students of the Normal School Department with an opportunity to practise the art of teaching. The second auxiliary school is for the benefit of Japanese children, a supplementary course of two years, and a middle school course of five years. The third auxiliary school gives to native girls an elementary education and a training in handicraft.

"Besides the Central Education Institution described above, a series of local educational institutions has been established in the important places on the island. Thus there is an ordinary normal school in each of the three cities, Taipeh, Taichu, and Tainan. The students in these normal schools are all natives who are to become assistant teachers in primary schools for native children, while the students in the Normal School Department of the Central Language School are to become principals and other important teachers in primary schools. The primary schools for Japanese children are established in the more important places where there is a Japanese population. Primary schools for native children are distributed all over the island, there being 130 at present, with 521 teachers and 18,149 scholars."

The climate and native conditions make medical knowledge of especial importance, and the Japanese have established special courses in this subject for the Formosans, in which some two hundred students are instructed. Perhaps the most valuable feature of the Formosan education system is its twofold nature, the teaching of Japanese to

the Formosans and of the native languages to the Japanese inhabitants.

When Japan took possession of Formosa there were no roads, and only one short, inefficient line of railway. No time was lost in building roads and constructing railways to open up the country. Count Katsura has summed up the original situation when he said that "In the interior of Formosa, natives live in detached isolated groups, having little or no communication with their neighbours. The whole island, viewed from the point of communication, may well be compared to a human body with choked arteries. Under these circumstances, an effective, thorough administration was more than we could hope for. The question of road-making and railway construction demanded the immediate attention of the Government. The road-making in the island was at once commenced, and has proceeded steadily ever since. Highways along the railway lines that run lengthwise through the island were projected. Railways become the mainspring of industrial advancement, and efficient military defence, and a good administration. No time, therefore, was lost in pushing on the building of those lines to completion. It was hoped that it would be possible to construct some of the necessary railway lines with private capital; but it was found impossible to arrange this, even by offering substantial subsidies, and the work had to be undertaken by the Government, special sums of money being raised by loans."

The improvements of railways, roads, and harbours were necessarily accompanied by an outlay of no small sum from the State Treasury, but the future development of Formosa, as well as the advancement of the national power, were felt to more than justify the Government in defraying the requisite expenditure, over £3,000,000.

Over 200 miles of narrow-gauge tramway lines have also been laid in the island by the Government. Postal facilities, telegraphs, and telephones are a great success.

In Formosa 119 post-offices have been opened, which in one year, 1903, handled 13,285,195 letters and post-cards, 114,779 parcels, and 336,297 domestic money-orders. The telegraph lines extended 6900 miles, while the wires were nearly 3000 miles in length ; and there were 1350 miles of telephone. No less than 3,690,228 messages were sent in 1902.

In 1904 there were 195 miles of railway open, 48 stations were in use, and 1,197,644 passengers were carried during the twelve months. The Government has spent over three millions sterling upon railways, roads, and harbours in six years, and, in the words of Dr. Goto, "the railways are proving a potent stimulant to industries of all kinds, and are becoming the prime factor in the general development of Formosa under Japanese rule." In the six years from 1897 to 1903, passenger traffic increased 400 per cent., and freight-carrying 1000 per cent. Along the roads and railways the beneficent rule of the Japanese administrators was able to penetrate to the interior more easily and more rapidly, and the subsequent development was extraordinary. Second in the development scheme to the railways and roads came harbours.

Formosa abounds in ports and harbours, which are, however, only available for small craft. For sea-going ships of any considerable dimensions almost all of them hardly afford anchorage. Hence, the formation of good harbours was one of the enterprises that claimed the immediate attention of the Government. Both Keelung and Taku were surveyed with a view to forming plans for the improvement of their harbours. The former port constitutes an important intermediate station on the line of communication with Japan, while the latter forms the basis of communication with the South Chinese ports.

No half-hearted measures were undertaken in harbour construction. The dredging alone of Keelung harbour absorbed £200,000, and this labour was only the virtual

preparation for the constructive work. A breakwater, piers, embankments, docks, and warehouses form part of the harbour scheme. The result to be attained was thus summed up by Dr. Goto: "The port of Keelung will have 36 feet of water in the inner and outer steamship harbours, and not less than 9 feet in the junk harbour (inner lagoon). The inner steamship harbour will have a landing-pier 1000 feet long, accommodating several coastwise or Japan-going vessels at a time. The outer steamship harbour will have a quay with two piers, the total water-line being 3000 feet, able to berth seven or eight ocean-going steamers at once, the depth being ample for the largest craft afloat. Ships at anchor in the outer harbour will have the protection, moreover, of a breakwater over 4000 feet long, which is to cost 8,000,000 yen, and will occupy six or seven years in construction. Large workshops have been built, a spacious goods-station is under construction, with roofed cargo-sheds, and rails will traverse piers and quay, so that merchandise may be handled direct from railway-car to ship by the hydraulic and steam cranes.

"Tamsui harbour is likewise being improved. It is the natural port of shipment for the produce of North Formosa ; but the river has a troublesome bar at its mouth, over which ships drawing more than 13 feet cannot pass, so the engineering works to be undertaken by the Government include jetties projecting seaward from each bank to lead the river out into deep water, followed by the removal of the bar, and systematic dredging to deepen the anchorage, and binding along the river-banks and quays. When finished, Tamsui will make a port fitted to receive steamers of 2000 to 3000 tons. Taku harbour is also to be made a very good second-class port."

One of the first actions of the Japanese administration was to organize a complete *cadastral* of the island. Many European nations have not yet, or only recently, completed

thorough *cadastres*, while Japan, having completed one and a considerable portion of a second *cadastre* at home, is doing the same in her colony. The value of an efficient *cadastre* of the land cannot be over-estimated, the direct gain to the revenue through taxation is considerable in itself. This surveying work is typical of the thorough-going manner in which Japan has attacked the question of colonization.

Agriculture in old Formosa was largely a question of beneficent providences, rice grew itself, producing two or three crops yearly. Since Japanese control, the rice cultivation has increased 10 per cent. and the tea fivefold. Hemp, cane, flax, jute, indigo, silk, sweet potatoes, all have largely increased in value. The Government has monopolies of salt, which produces from £30,000 to £80,000 annually to the revenue; sulphur, which had an output in 1903 of 2,250,680 kin, and camphor, besides opium.

Formosa supplies almost the whole world with camphor, but when Japan took the island the industry was in a precarious state. Camphor trees were cut down with an utter disregard of the consequences, and the most crude processes were employed in the manufacture. A Government monopoly was established, with the triple object of protecting the trees, improving the method of production, and placing the industry on a secure footing. The world's consumption of camphor is computed to be about 8,000,000 pounds weight per annum, and the production in Formosa is regulated accordingly. The yearly yield to the revenue is about £875,000 a year. The development of the camphor output has been phenomenal. In 1897, 1,534,596 kin of camphor and 638,603 kin of camphor oil were produced, in 1904 the figures were 3,389,933 kin and 2,720,388 kin respectively. The millions of young camphor trees planted by the Japanese ensure a further increase in the future of this valuable component of smokeless gunpowder.

The mining industries have been enormously developed.

In 1899 the output of gold was 39,759 momme, in 1903 it was 322,183 momme, an eightfold increase; and coal showed more than a twofold increase; silver also developed considerably.

In agriculture much care has been expended in encouraging the industries and their attendant works. "The steps," says Dr. Goto, "taken by the Government to encourage the industries which depend upon these products cannot fail to be beneficial, and the State revenues are being increased by the progress made." The sugar industry is a typical case, the Government having given much assistance, both as to the quality and the quantity of the output. Over 41,000 acres are devoted to the cultivation of sugar-cane, and in 1903 the output reached 60,000,000 kin. This result had been attained largely through the Government having imported seven American cane-crushing mills for the encouragement of the planters. The possession of sugar plantations of such possibilities leads the Japanese Government to regard with a favourable eye the training on the sugar plantations of the Japanese emigrants for the Hawaiian islands. These are likely to play a great part in the development of the sugar industry in Formosa.

Banking has not been neglected, and the Bank of Formosa was founded after the Japanese occupation. Its objects are: first, to act as the central organ of the Formosan monetary system; and, secondly, to promote the economic progress of the island by supplying money for commerce, industries, and public enterprises. This latter shows great progress, and may be regarded as a gauge of the prosperity of the colony. In 1896 there were 5847 depositors with 228,487 yen, in 1902 these had increased to 41,145 with 763,515 yen, a very distinct progress for six years. Proof of the freedom of the native Formosans under Japanese rule, as well as of their ability to become and remain rich under developing conditions, has recently

been afforded by the determination of certain energetic and wealthy Formosans to organize a bank of their own. This bank, known as the Agricultural and Commercial Bank, is to have a capital of 100,000 yen, and be the joint property of four gentlemen. The Formosans are expected to patronize this bank rather than the Japanese banks, of which they have seemed rather shy, and it is expected that domestic business channels will profit largely. The promoters are men of wealth and standing, and the banks should succeed. And in 1895 the inhabitants of Formosa were looked upon as savages and pirates! The light hand of Japan, in allowing the natives to organize institutions of their own, even in opposition to Japanese institutions, is most enlightening as to the causes of the success of their colonization scheme. "Under which manner of administration it has been possible for Japan," says Dr. Goto, "in so few years, to turn a savage wilderness into a prosperous colony!"

In the general administration of Formosa the Governor-General is the highest official. He is under the control of the Minister of State for Home Affairs. He is, however, subject to the Ministers of State for the Army and Navy in matters relating to military and naval administration and questions dealing with military and naval persons. In as far as concerns Formosa, the Governor-General carries out the work of the Ministers of State in Japan. Assisting the Governor-General in the administration are the chief councillors, the head of the police, the heads of bureaux, secretaries, and councillors, etc. There exists also a deliberative body in the council mentioned above.

Formosa is divided into twenty administrative divisions, or *cho*, in each of which there is a *chocho*, or officer in charge, who acts as local governor. The *cho* is on the one hand an administrative division, and on the other a public judicial entity, able to levy taxes, as was the case in Japan

in the *Fu* and *Ken* before the promulgation of the law of the organization of *Fu* and *Ken* in 1890. By an ordinance having the power of law, promulgated in 1898, the regulations relating to local revenue in Formosa are laid down. This law gives to the local governor the right to levy local taxes. He is authorized to impose and collect any or all of the following taxes:—

- (1) Additional percentages on the land-tax.
- (2) House-tax.
- (3) Business tax.
- (4) Miscellaneous taxes.

Money derived from such sources is to be expended in the local organization of police, public works, hygienic measures, education, etc. These revenues and expenditures come under the head of those of local communities in Formosa, for which the consent of the Imperial Diet is not necessary, in accordance with the provision contained in Article 64 of the Constitution.

Mention has been made of the lavish pouring out of money by the Central Government in Tokyo, in order to expedite the development of Formosa, and it is not without profit to examine a little into the ways and means employed as well as into the results. Since the transfer in 1895, the Japanese Government had till 1902, viz. in seven years, expended the sum of £18,112,000. These figures include, however, £8,326,000 for military expenses, largely incurred owing to the unsettled state of the country during the first few years. The general expenditure for the seven years was, therefore, £9,786,000. The military expenditure has gradually decreased year by year. During the seven years the revenue has brought in £5,930,000, thanks to the enormous development of trade and industries by the Government. The difference of £3,850,000 was met by Government subsidies aggregating £2,550,000, and a loan of £1,300,000 raised by the Formosan Administration.

It should be noted, however, that both the subsidy and the loan were almost exclusively applied to the prosecution of public works, as hereafter specified, and the money, instead of being regarded as expenditure incurred without prospect of adequate return, ought properly to be considered as capital well and profitably invested for the benefit of the inhabitants.

The Formosan Government, in fact, has laid out, since the islands came under the sovereignty of Japan, no less a sum than £3,072,000, on railways, telegraphs, harbour improvements, and other undertakings of a character directly beneficial to the public.

Deducting from the total civil expenditure of £9,786,000 the expenditure upon public works, viz. £3,072,000, and the sum total of the revenue, £5,930,000, we find that the net cost to the mother country for civil administration has been £784,000 or £122,000 per annum for the seven years. This only works out at £7 4s. 1d. per square mile per annum, which cannot be considered as a ruinous expenditure upon a new colony.

The subsidy already alluded to is being diminished year by year, as the colony gains strength, and from £694,000 in 1896, the total fell in 1901 to £238,000, and in 1905 to nil. Conversely, the Formosan revenue grew from £271,000 in 1896 to six times this amount, viz. £1,637,000 in 1901, and in 1905 to about two millions (estimated), and it is computed that by 1910, if not earlier, the colony will be entirely self-supporting. The new land survey has already added £100,000 to the annual revenue, though as yet but partially carried out, and after 1905, when the new regulations will have full effect, the addition to the colony's income from this source will be at least £200,000 per annum more.

It is not difficult to show that, notwithstanding the fact that the Japanese Government pays a subsidy to the Formosan Government, Formosa is already a profitable

colony. Substantial benefits are being derived from the interstate commerce between the colony and the mother country in a trade already amounting to £2,000,000 a year. This benefit is bound to increase with the growth of trade, while the subsidy is being gradually diminished, and will cease altogether before 1910. The profits from the commerce enjoyed by Japan proper may be placed at 15 per cent. or £300,000 per annum, which is a considerable offset against any subsidy.

Moreover, if we go back a little way, we find that the commerce of Japan with Formosa from 1895 to 1902 amounted to not less than £7,000,000 sterling, and if upon this gross value we take 15 per cent. as the share of clear profit that Japan proper has obtained from the trade, we have over £1,000,000 sterling as the result, a sum that represents a fair return for the investment of £12,182,000 capital, for that is the precise sum that Japan has spent upon Formosa in the first seven years since it was acquired from China.

Dr. Goto thus explains the relation between the subsidy and the profit to Japan: "After subtracting the revenue of £5,390,000 collected in Formosa during seven years from the gross expenditure in the same period of £18,112,000, we have an actual outlay in all by the mother country upon the colony of £12,182,000. But in 1902 the revenue, independent of the subsidy, rose to £1,637,000. The yield upon the outlay was thus nearly $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. If it be argued that it is unsafe to take the gross revenue of the colony in this way as a basis of comparison against the total capital sunk, as it were, in the islands, we may turn once more to the item of subsidy, and trace the profits year by year on the interstate trade which have accrued to the mother country upon that basis of calculation alone.

In 1896 the grant was £556,000, against which the interstate profits to Japan proper were £105,000; in other words, a ratio of profit to subsidy of 17·66 per cent. In

1897 the ratio was 38·49 per cent.; in 1898 it was 72·66 per cent.; in 1899 it reached 84·18 per cent.; in 1900 the ratio was entirely changed, and the gains far exceeded the subsidy, the total profits being £378,000 against a subsidy of £238,000. Whichever way one may look at it, Formosa can no longer be regarded as a burden upon the Japanese Imperial Exchequer. It is in respect to its financial condition practically independent.

Besides the direct profit, there are the railways, roads, and other public works to be considered.

It is interesting to quote here Dr. Goto's opinion upon the progress made in Formosa during the seven years' administration. "The administrative system has since 1898 answered all requirements, and has given satisfaction to a population which is composed of many elements, inclined by nature to be more or less antagonistic to one another. Since the Chinese had paid no attention whatever to such matters as sanitation questions, the death rate was very high at the time when the island became Japanese property. Steps were at once taken to remedy the defective drainage of the towns, to supply pure drinking water by boring artesian wells and establishing water-works, and to reduce the number of mosquitoes and other noxious insects, which were previously serious plagues. Hospitals were indispensable to the fulfilment of this scheme, and no fewer than eleven of these institutions were established.

"The *cadastre*, upon which the land-tax is collected, was established, and is being pushed forward, and its effects, as exhibited by a largely enhanced revenue from this source, are already plainly visible, though the work is necessarily one which demands time for its complete accomplishment. The educational measures adopted are far-reaching, and are certain to be effective. The public works, comprising telegraphs, lighthouses, railways, and the improvement of the accommodation for shipping at

various ports, are all receiving their due share of consideration.

"The banking affairs and monetary system of the colony have been placed upon a satisfactory footing.

"It will perhaps be admitted," adds the civil governor, "that when a colony can be shown to have been of profit to the mother country in even the first seven years of its existence, proof has been given of a vitality and of capabilities in general that are undoubtedly above the average. Formosa in Japanese hands has achieved this distinction."

The revenue in 1897 was 5,315,879 yen, exclusive of the subsidy ; in 1905-6 it is estimated at 20,013,194 yen. The customs revenue had increased in the same period from 732,277 yen to 1,499,648 yen. Taxation, which in 1897 only brought in 1,891,736 yen, amounted to 4,706,478 yen in 1905-6. The net receipts from public enterprises, including the monopolies, had risen from 2,513,901 yen to 13,283,220 yen. Added to this, the population has increased from 2,455,353 in 1897 to 3,059,235 in 1905.

Communal offices were early established, and now number nearly six hundred ; at present serving as medium between the Government and the people, they will in time become organs of local self-government. Many customs prevailing in Formosa have been incorporated in the laws now in force.

Truly, Japan has shown the way in practical colonization, when in seven years she transforms a savage island into a profitable colony, on the high-road to becoming a valuable asset and a real assistance to the empire of which it is a part. Japan has accomplished this meritorious performance chiefly through the force of her unity as a nation, and the power which that unity gives her Government of conceiving and carrying on a continuous policy of development. Her insistence upon the value of sanitation, railways, and, above all, education must not be overlooked. But perhaps the most interesting of all the factors is

that delicate recognition of the sentiments and tendencies of the Formosan inhabitants. Loving Japan, with a whole-hearted, passionate devotion, the Japanese are able to make allowances for the existence of the same love of country in the breasts of other peoples.

This Japanese consideration for the Formosans, coupled with the national unity and its effectiveness, have enabled Japan to become a colonizing power worthy of study and of imitation.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PIONEER OF INTERNATIONALISM

IT is doubtful whether there has ever been a great nation gifted so absolutely with the international sense as is Japan. Possibly the fact that she has won so much that is good from every nation has influenced her in this direction ; but it is, at any rate, certain that Japan sets a new standard of international equity before the world. She can think internationally, and in making her plans and carrying them out she never loses sight of the result upon all nations interested. Of course certain nations play a greater part than others in her national policy ; some see eye to eye with her, others just the reverse, but Japan can be trusted to carry out her word in international affairs, and would be the last nation to break a treaty once signed. Even unwritten conventions are respected, and it may well be that on this point of internationalism and of equity, light may come to the world from the East. How different would be the course of diplomacy if the Japanese standard of morality were adopted by all the nations ! There would be the knowledge pervading every action that the summit of ambition was to live in friendly relations with all the world, and that fair treatment would be met with fair treatment in return.

Just as Baron Shibusawa, the proud samurai, after he had thrown himself into the abyss of commerce to save Japan, found that one man could never hope to accomplish as much as a company, Japan has realized what is, perhaps,

the greatest of all facts enforced by modern civilization. The time has passed when nation could stand apart from nation and limit its affairs to its own borders. The world grows smaller and more compact each year. Every cable, every steamship line, every railway laid, draws closer and closer the four corners of the earth. Every letter, every picture postcard even, is a drop wearing away the artificial divisions between the nations. This is the age of internationalism as a supplement to nationalism, and yet the old nations of Europe cannot bring themselves to its realization. The United States, with the clearer vision of youth, has seen it, and, amongst monarchs, King Edward is the most advanced internationalist. But in the West internationalism is indulged in an amateur fashion; there is no continuity in the pursuance of the idea. The fact that all the nations join together and sign international undertakings does not bring nearer the fact that the march of time has brought us changed conditions, and that it is necessary to change the national policy to fit the times. There must be co-operation in nations just as there is in business. The truth of this is demonstrated by the unconscious grouping together of nations. But being unconscious, the co-operation is inefficient, and has almost invariably as a corollary the antagonizing of other nations.

Marquis Ito, when in Europe on the eve of the signing of the Anglo-Japanese treaty of alliance, expressed himself as being anxious to make an understanding also with Germany; not because Germany would be of any use to Japan in the Far East, but for the following reason, which showed clearly that he had grasped the fundamental idea of the altered conditions existing in the relations of State to State. Germany's value in his estimation lay in her control of three votes in the European concert, before which all international questions affecting Japan are bound to come for settlement.

As the Hon. Katei Otani puts it in his typically Japanese view of the case: "The world may be compared to our body. If any part of our system suffers, then the entire body must suffer. A trifling headache, or a little sore throat, will give fever to all parts of our organism. The ailment in the particular portion will surely affect the general system, so in the same way complications in a certain part of the world will affect the general conditions of the world. It is quite natural that the complications in the Far East should be regarded with keen interest by other nations. The happiness of mankind can only be promoted if all the nations of the world would conduct themselves according to the principles of justice and peace, but should there be any nation which does not keep these principles, the entire world will surely be troubled thereby."

Count Okuma, speaking in the Japanese House of Representatives as Minister of Foreign Affairs, has described the altered conditions of affairs thus: "The foreign intercourse of former years was really of narrow limits, being concerned with the relations between one country and another, or a few others. But now, through the enormous development of facilities of transportation and communication, and the close interaction of the world's interests, foreign relations have been greatly transformed. In the affair between England and Venezuela, you are aware that the dispute was about a narrow strip of marshy, uninhabited frontier territory, and that the parties to the controversy were, on the one side England, the greatest Power in the world, with colonial possessions of over ten million square miles in area, and, on the other, the little South American Republic of Venezuela. But the settlement was by no means so easy, for the United States of America immediately interfered. The affair was thenceforth no longer one between England and Venezuela alone, but between England and North and South America. The

ground of that interference was the Monroe doctrine, which, as you are aware, was enunciated long ago with the object of averting the spread of European influence in North and South America. Thus the affair no longer concerned the two Americas and England alone; it became a general international question, for the exclusion of European influence from America was naturally a matter of grave importance to Europe, which has many colonial possessions in the New World. Thus a question that ordinarily concerned a small colony came to assume a general international character. The limits of foreign intercourse have gradually widened to such an extent that a very small affair becomes of concern to the whole world. The war with China in the 27th and 28th year of Meiji originally concerned only Japan and China, and did not touch other Powers in any way. But even this led, in the latter year, to the interference of three of the most influential Powers of Continental Europe. Thus it also became a general international question. In a word, the sphere of foreign intercourse has so greatly widened, that the slightest incident may affect the interests of the whole world." Count Okuma was also ready to declare what was the Japanese policy in view of these facts. "I desire to emphasize that foreign intercourse must above all things be planned on a large scale, for all diplomatic projects have immediate interest for the whole world; and that since foreign policy, or, rather, national policy, must be fixed, unchanged, and continuous, the best method of diplomacy is to adhere strictly to the principles of international law. Now, to adhere to the principles of international law, diplomacy must be based on justice. The power of justice is great, for it is sure to enlist the sympathy of the entire world. There is no doubt that the country will progress, and its advance will go hand-in-hand with diplomacy. We must adopt that best type of diplomacy which, based on justice, approaches most closely to international

law. This is not a mere statement of my own—that is to say, of Okuma individually. It is my declaration as a representative of the Meiji era. The kind of diplomacy that changes with its director is most pernicious and dangerous. There have been many instances of temporary success obtained by extraordinary geniuses or through towers built on sand. That is what I mean by saying that foreign policy is fixed, immovable, and unchangeable, and that foreign policy which changes with its director is pernicious. This has been the definite and settled view held since the first year of the Meiji era, though there may have been occasional errors. It is my intention to follow loyally and sincerely the principle I have just referred to, with due regard for the national constitution, and in obedience to the spirit of progress, and I do not think there can be much error in carrying out such a policy."

How correct Count Okuma was when he described this international policy as the policy of the Meiji era may be gathered from the continuity of the stress laid in the Imperial edicts upon the necessity of good relations with other countries. The Emperor of Japan is gifted with the international sense, and since his first proclamation "that henceforth international intercourse upon the basis of international rules is opened, and both Government and governed shall unite to achieve this one intention," his decrees have shown an ever-increasing realization of the value of internationalism. The Japanese Emperor and his people give a true interpretation to the phrase "to think imperially," and show how Imperialism may be developed, not only along peaceful lines, but along the lines of international brotherhood. In them to think imperially is to think internationally. Just as harmony is the keynote of Japan's national policy, so it forms the ideal and the foundation of her international attitude. "Our national ambition is," says Baron Kaneko Kentaro, "by engrafting the Western

culture and science upon our institutions to blend together and assimilate the two types of civilization—oriental and occidental—and by doing so to bring forth a new type of civilization, in which the culture and science of the two hemispheres will meet, not in conflict, but in harmony, so as to enable us to share the inheritance of Christian religion, oriental philosophy, Greek art, Roman laws, and modern science." Harmony is no less desirable in international relations, since on these relations depend the ability to develop the national ideals along the desired paths. One of the earliest Imperial edicts enjoined upon the Japanese people the necessity of seeking knowledge in the outer world, and this comprehension of the imperative need of knowing outside conditions marked the commencement of the era of real internationalism.

In July, 1899, a rescript on the revised treaties was issued, which runs as follows :—

"Governing Our realm by the abiding aid of our ancestors' achievements, which have enabled us to secure the prosperity of Our people at home, and to establish relations of close amity with the nations abroad, it is a source of heartfelt gratification to Us that, as a result of exhaustive planning and repeated negotiations, an agreement has been come to with the Powers, and the revision of treaties, Our long-cherished aim, is to-day on the eve of becoming an accomplished fact, a result which, while it adds materially to the responsibilities of Our empire, will greatly strengthen the basis of Our friendship with foreign countries. It is Our earnest wish that Our subjects, whose devoted loyalty in the discharge of their duties is conspicuous, should enter earnestly into Our sentiments in this matter, and, in compliance with the great policy of opening the country, should all unite with one heart to associate cordially with the people from far countries, thus maintaining the character of the nation and enhancing the prestige of the empire."

And finally, in the declaration of war against Russia, there is one very significant clause—

“We have always deemed it essential to international relations, and made it Our constant aim, to promote the pacific progress of Our empire in civilization, to strengthen Our ties with other States, and to establish a state of things which would maintain enduring peace in the extreme East, and secure the future of Our dominions without injury to the rights and interests of other Powers. Our competent authorities have also performed their duties in accordance with Our will, so that Our relations with the Powers have been steadily growing in cordiality. It was thus entirely against Our expectation that We have unhappily come to open hostilities against Russia.”

Through all these runs the same strong current, showing a desire for good relations with the world. The Emperor is the centre of the nation, and his pronouncements voice the national sentiments.

Japan, recognizing that it is necessary in gaining the confidence of the other nations that they should be able to trust her word, has initiated a new system of diplomatic dealing. She speaks frankly and openly, and has done much to remove the old idea that diplomacy was synonymous with duplicity. Neither do Japanese statesmen use offensive expressions about other nations. There are no metaphors such as “a long spoon” or “the squeezed sponge” to create bad feelings. Besides the little-mindedness of national abuse, it defeats the Japanese object of the attainment of harmony.

“The general current of the world in this enlightened age,” says Count Okuma, “does not allow the doctrine of Machiavelli to be put into practice with success. The great maxim that honesty is the best policy is beneficially applicable to all departments of human affairs. Besides this, there would be a great danger of being justly punished sooner or later, if we have recourse to mere military force

unaccompanied by morality every time we have to deal with any weaker nation, and invade her territory without provocation ; a statement for which history furnishes ample evidence."

The same authority is responsible for the following exposition of Japanese belief: "In the first place, how should we treat our inferior neighbours ? With justice and benevolence. These are the two great principles we have adhered to from the time immemorial in our foreign intercourse, and have been proved by events to be the only way leading to permanent success. Military strength may achieve great things, it is true ; but, in the long run, it turns out that diplomatic skill will win the final victory in the struggle of existence among nations."

The Japanese are always averse to making an enemy of a nation, even when opportunity may offer to acquire considerable advantages with small risk. They prefer to secure the lasting friendship of that Power rather than the temporary material advantages which might accrue from unfriendly action. For to the Japanese the perceiving of a neighbour in a difficulty does not at once suggest the taking an advantage of him, if anything, it would call into being the opposite sentiment. During the present era there have been abundant proofs that Japan is not an aggressive nation, snatching at every chance opportunity of aggression. The war with China was a powerful example, since Japan refrained from pushing her command of the situation by the attacking of Peking or the annexation of Korea, both of which were within her grasp. To have done so would have been to create international difficulties and world troubles, both things to be avoided. Another example of the Japanese desire for friendliness rather than friction is afforded by the flagrant case of the Australian exclusion of Japanese. This relic of barbaric methods, without foundation of law or decency, was a direct insult by an ignorant labour-led proletariat of very modest

dimensions, inhabiting a large territory which it cannot develop, offered to a nation which is allied to the British Empire, of which Australia forms a geographically great but intrinsically insignificant member. The Japanese, confident in the good faith of Great Britain, have taken no steps to force the question, even when events have demonstrated that Australia lies absolutely at her mercy. Even an insult to the most sensitive of Japanese feelings, her national pride, is overlooked in a feeling that justice will sooner or later prevail and lead the British Government to settle the matter. Japan recognizes the unpleasant duties of internationalism as well as its benefits. In this connection the Japanese Consul-General in Sydney made a very significant remark, significant because of the light it throws upon Japanese international morality. "It has been suggested to me by several Australians, who are not in favour of restricting the Japanese, that Japan should retaliate by excluding Australians. I do not understand the logic of such a proposal. If Australians are narrow-minded, that is no reason why the Japanese should not be broad-minded."

The doctrine of right conduct, whatever actions may be perpetrated against you, is certainly a much higher one than that of "an eye for an eye" which pervades modern international relations!

This new diplomacy is essentially one of truth and straightforward dealing. Subterfuge and deception may succeed once or many times, but they are but a very unstable foundation for permanent good relations. The story of the negotiations with Russia shows clearly how straightforward Japan is in her diplomacy. She stated clearly at the beginning the irreducible minimum which she considered equitable as a settlement, not adding to it any make-weight clauses, to be possibly discarded to suit convenience. The Americans have brought into being a new diplomacy—one straightforward enough, still always flavouring of bluff and violence; but it has been reserved

for Japan to introduce the newest diplomacy of dignified, straightforward dealing between nations. And it is interesting to see how the newest diplomacy met and foiled the most ancient of the old diplomacy—that of Russia. Subterfuge after subterfuge fell at St. Petersburg before the straightforward earnestness of the Japanese statesmen. Lamsdorff's quibbles to Kurino that he was not empowered to talk of Manchuria, that province lying in the jurisdiction of Alexieff, were met by a request for information as to who could speak for the Chinese province in St. Petersburg. Lamsdorff replied that only the Tsar could speak on this subject. M. Kurino promptly applied for, and obtained, a special interview with the Tsar, in which he explained the case thoroughly.

The whole question of Japan's international morality has been tested, and found substantial and thoroughly efficient, by the present war. The diplomatic negotiations are interesting reading from their bearing upon this morality, and the repeated efforts of Japan to prevent a war are worthy of consideration by those who hold that the Japanese are a purely warlike race.

Japan has joined herself with zest to all the great international institutions, and has brought vast improvements to not a few. No great international congresses are to be found without Japanese delegates, who contribute much to the success of the various movements. The Japanese took a deep interest in the formation of the Arbitration Tribunal at the Hague, and it is worthy of remark that they have already submitted a case to this body for decision. Japan has, during the war, adhered scrupulously to the rules of the Hague Convention. This has been testified to by the American Minister to Japan in a remarkable report to his Government. One special point may be mentioned with regard to this, and that is, that whereas the Japanese military authorities have furnished regular reports of the prisoners of war taken

from the Russians, which was laid down as an international necessity, there has been practically nothing done on the Russian side in this way, thus causing a great deal of unnecessary anxiety and suffering amongst the families of soldiers in Japan. This point is only typical of hundreds of others which might be cited, to demonstrate Japanese loyalty to those rules and regulations to which her delegates have subscribed at the Hague. A very remarkable exposition of Japan's international feeling and actions was given in an interview which Count Katsura, Japanese Prime Minister, accorded to an American missionary recently. In this he said—

“I do not think that any Government in the world at the outbreak of the war took such pains as the Government of Japan has taken to emphasize to all the duty of conducting the war in strict accordance with the principles of humanity and the usages of international law. Immediately upon the opening of hostilities, communications were sent to all the governors of prefectures, reminding them of their responsibilities, and especially with regard to any Russians that might be residing within their jurisdiction. Under the authority of the Minister of Education, directions were issued by which all the students in the empire, from the young men in the higher institutions of learning down to the children in the primary schools, have been instructed as to the principles and duties to be observed. In addition to this, communications were sent to the recognized representatives of all the religious bodies in the country—Buddhists, Shintoists, and Christians alike—asking them to take pains to discountenance any wrong tendencies among the more ignorant of the people. Among the points emphasized by the Government are these: That the war is one between the State of Japan and the State of Russia; that it is not waged against individuals; that individuals of all nationalities, peacefully attending to their business, are to suffer no molestation or annoyance

whatever ; and that questions of religion do not enter into the war at all."

The Japanese have recognized that acts of one nation which affect other nations are matters of general international interest, and should be announced to the world as such. The war with Russia has been regarded in this light, and no efforts have been spared to present to the world a full account of the progress of the war, just as official *communiqués* gave a *résumé* of the negotiations preceding it. The somewhat unusual course was taken of transforming all the Japanese legations throughout the world into centres for disseminating news of the war. So admirable were the results that it is probable that in the future similar methods will be adopted by combatants. All the world is interested, is bound to be interested, in a war, and so every effort should be made to supply them with accurate news. This system involves a new standard of national morality, since it is no use taking the world into your confidence, if afterwards you do things diametrically opposed to your protestations. It is necessary to be truthful in diplomacy, and to abandon the old policy of *suppressio veri*, as well as the outright deception often considered as one of the essentials. Absolute frankness in international matters is considered in Japan the best policy, but prediction, even when results are morally certain, has no place in a policy of fact. It is this definiteness and certainty about the Japanese announcements which make them of such very valuable assistance to the national cause ; for internationalism is useless, unless it be accompanied, or, rather, founded, upon international morality. The Japanese show every intention of acting internationally at the close of the war. Already in Korea they have afforded an example of this policy. By a judicious choice of advisers for the Korean Government, Japan has interested three powers in Korean affairs, instead of arrogantly appropriating everything herself. An American is

diplomatic adviser, an Englishman is head of the customs, and a Japanese expert is financial adviser. In Mr. Stevens, Mr. McLeavy Brown, and Mr. Megata, the Japanese have a good international hand to play the game in Korea. And yet how easy and natural it would have been to have filled these posts with Japanese officials only! In Manchuria the Japanese recognize that, if they can, as well as handing back the provinces to China, place them upon the international plane, there is far more chance of erecting a barrier to later Russian military aggression—to commercial aggression there would be no barrier. True to this policy they have decided to open the country up to trade, to make open posts and open towns with consular representatives of all the Powers of every considerable town in the provinces, and to do everything in their power to so promote the business interests of the world in Manchuria as to render any Russian advance a vital question to the great commercial Powers. The railway Japan would like to see internationalized, just as the Suez Canal is internationalized. What Japan hopes to do with the world she is already doing with China in Manchuria. Were Russia to advance south again, she would find the cities in Chinese hands, administered by the Chinese, and would have the problem before her as to how to avoid breaking Chinese neutrality. The Japanese forces, in occupying the Manchurian towns, have done so in the name of China, and the Chinese authorities have formed part of the procession of entry. In this Japan both gives a proof of her probity, and also of the practical value of internationalism. The fact that internationalism may be of value to a country does not detract at all from its intrinsic worth.

Japan, during this war, is making international law, which as yet is very undefined and very little understood. As a Russian official said, "We must admit one thing, and that is that Japan has given to the world a new meaning, a true significance to international law. Before this war

it was strangely inclined to be an abstract theory, now it has become a practical reality."

"International law is essentially," says Baron Suyematsu, "a thing of Occidental growth, but with the development of Japan, and the adoption of Western enlightenment, it has found its way not only in the letter, but in the spirit, to the heart of the Japanese, for modern Japan well knows that she cannot proceed with her international intercourse without placing herself in the sphere of international law. She adheres to the Declaration of Paris of 1856, relating to the laws of warfare, and to the Geneva Convention. In the International Convention of 1899 she was one of the signatories, and in all her external relations with foreign Powers, whether peaceful or otherwise, she closely follows its statutes and principles, and the rules of that law are never ignored. Some points that have been advocated by the international jurists without effectiveness previously, have been just put into practice by Japan. The Occidental, therefore, may take it as a palladium that, during the present war, there need be no apprehension of Japan's deviating from that line of policy." During the Chinese War, Japan created a precedent in international law by deciding that a foreign (Danish) telegraph engineer, captured on a Chinese man-of-war, was to be considered as a prisoner of war. Later, he was allowed to go free, not as a non-combatant, but on his giving a written pledge to observe certain conditions.

"During the present war we have carried into effect some suggestions of a far more important nature," continues the Baron, "and have created the following precedent:—We have given the Russian captives every convenience and facility of personal freedom—within certain bounds, of course—and, further, allowed such captives to receive and forward letters to their homes. I might cite some other instances, yet it may be safely said that not only will international law be adhered to by Japan, but,

as I have indicated, it will possibly be developed in a practical manner by the Japanese in co-operation with the Occidentals."

Among other new principles must be included the decision of the Japanese prize court that all prize-money should be rendered to the service of the State, and not to the persons who made the capture.

In the arrangement for the capitulation of Port Arthur Japan has also made new standards. The humane treatment of General Stoessel granted by the Japanese Emperor, and his repeated offers to allow the removal of the non-combatants from the fortress, are only indications of the Japanese settled line of action. "The draft of the capitulation," says Professor Nagao Ariga, the distinguished international lawyer attached to the investing army, "of Port Arthur was not drawn up hurriedly, but was already in existence before the first general attack in August. It was subsequently amended according to the development of the situation, and was finally drafted on October 26. In particular, on October 28th and 29th we held a most exhaustive inquiry into the question, under the direction of the chief of our staff, the council lasting till after midnight.

"Nor was the draft made by any one person. It was divided into sections according to subjects, and entrusted to different commissions for investigation, the results of which were embodied in the capitulation and its supplement. At the same time we studied the examples of the capitulations effected during the Franco-Prussian and Russo-Turkish wars, and in drawing up the present capitulation, most followed the principles set forth in the terms of the surrender of Metz, Strasburg, and Sedan."

The thoroughness was typically Japanese, and the terms were such as to be just and exact, while not being inhuman. "Some persons," adds Professor Ariga, "say that in drawing up the present capitulation we erred on the side of liberality. But the degree of liberality ought

to be proportionate to the fighting power that the enemy possesses and delivers over at the time of the capitulation. It is the military and not lawyers who should be the judge of this amount of fighting power. The rest is a question of polity."

Internationalism is based upon justice and good feeling. It is a mistake to imagine that it is founded upon or ruled by sentimentality. The net result of the attitude of the European Powers during this war has been to call up very considerable doubts amongst the Japanese as to the existence of any international morality amongst them. Of course, it is well known that international law is very backward, and consists of a few great conventions, such as Geneva and the Hague conventions, and local treaties affecting only parts of the community. But there is, besides these international laws, an international morality, just as in private life there are many things governed by sentiments or public opinion and not by law. That gradually the system of international morality was to develop into a system of international law, binding upon all the world—such was the desire of all progressive people. All nations are unanimous in declaring themselves desirous for peace and as abhorring war. Therefore they might have been expected, if not actually to work for peace, not to work against it. And yet, what is the case to-day? Instead of working for peace, the European nations are urging on the war. Two men are fighting in the street in a private quarrel, and instead of attempting to dissuade them from their fisticuffs, the spectators are handing now one a sword, now the other a pistol. This is the attitude of the European Powers during a war at the present day. And there is no secret made of it, and no shame expressed. That assistance by individuals of other countries should be given to the belligerents is perhaps inevitable, but just as many things in private life, which are not expressly forbidden by law,

can only be practised *sub rosa*, and against the trend of public opinion, so we might expect that in national affairs any assistance should be given clandestinely. But this is far from being the case, as may be judged from the statements made by Monsieur Bompard, French Ambassador to Russia during the Russo-Japanese War. This eminent French diplomatist had no hesitation in discussing and rejoicing openly over the fact that Russia was preparing to spend a certain proportion of her money in the purchase of war material in France. The most dreadful part of the matter was, that nobody seemed to be astonished that he should do so. And yet, what would one say of a spectator who handed one of two fighting men a knife? Reluctantly we are forced to the conclusion that the European nations do not really know what international morality is, their vision is obscured by their desire to profit by every opportunity. The remarkable letter of Professor Holland to the *Times*, in which he stated in effect that contraband selling was legitimate so long as the vessel was not captured, threw an unpleasant light upon the condition of affairs in the international field. What would be said of any one who advanced the theory that we could commit murders and not be doing wrong unless we were found out? And yet that is the argument solemnly advanced by one whose name, as an international law expert, is world-wide. The question of contraband becomes exceptionally acute in a case where the ships are running the blockade to provision a besieged fortress. Here they are undoubtedly and directly assisting one belligerent, and equally certain being the cause of the loss of many more lives to the attacking force. As the law now stands, those who run the blockade do so without any personal risk. If caught, their cargo and their ships are confiscated, but they themselves go scot-free. And since few blockade-runners start without sufficient money down to cover the risk, this punishment is not such as to deter the contrabanders from

attempting the blockade, and neutral territory has been openly used to prepare these blockade-running expeditions. In Shanghai so little secrecy was there about the matter that a case was tried in the public court in which the sailors of a British steamer had refused to sail because she was going to run the blockade to Vladivostok. Here we have a British vessel, in a harbour where British influence is paramount, calmly preparing to convey goods to Russia to enable her to fight longer against the British ally—Japan. Nothing is done to prevent the ship sailing, and the only feeling, should she arrive safely, would be one of satisfaction at the cleverness of the British sailing-master, and in the profits to owners. In the future the laws must place the blockade-runners on the same footing as belligerents, and make them liable to be shot if captured. If a soldier is found passing through the line in civilian clothes he is shot as a spy. What are the blockade-runners but belligerents in civilian clothes? All these proofs of the lack of an international morality are very saddening, evidences as they are of a national decadence and a lack of progress.

The international morals of Japan are much higher than those of Europe, and this has often resulted in her being deceived and taken in by overmuch confidence in her neighbours. But it is a quality which makes nations truly great, and an immoral nation can never be for long a great one. Although there are no moral companions for Japan in Europe, there is one in the United States of America. The United States feels intense sympathy with Japan, and does so because she can understand the motives which actuate Japanese policy. These motives are too high to be comprehensible to us. In the past the United States have shown outward and visible signs of international morality. After the bombardment of the Straits of Shimonoseki by the allied fleets to force the Japanese hand, the Americans returned the indemnity to Japan. But this was the only nation to do so. Great Britain,

whose fleet acted without orders from London, accepted the *fait accompli*, and kept the indemnity. It was the case of a parent who, having told his little boy not to steal his neighbour's apples, and finding that he has gone and stolen a basketful, forgives him and says, "Give me the apples." The United States also acted very rightly in regard to the Boxer outbreak. The message of President Roosevelt, after his re-election this year, is one of the finest expositions of the American idea of international morality that can be found anywhere :—

"The steady aim of this nation," wrote President Roosevelt, "as of all enlightened nations, should be to strive to bring ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. There are kinds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. . . . The peace of tyrannous terror, the peace of craven weakness, the peace of unrighteousness, these should be shunned as we shun unrighteous war. The goal set before us as a nation, the goal which should be set before all mankind, is the attainment of the peace of justice, of the peace which comes when each nation is not merely safeguarded in its own rights, but scrupulously recognizes and performs its duty towards others. Generally peace tells for righteousness; but if there is conflict between the two, then our fealty is due first to the cause of righteousness. Unrighteous wars are common, and unrighteous peace is rare; but both should be shunned. . . . It is our duty to remember that a nation has no more right to do injustice to another nation, strong or weak, than an individual has to do injustice to another individual; that the same moral law applies in one case as in the other. . . . Within the nation the individual has now delegated this right to the State—that is, to the representative of all the individuals—and it is a maxim of the law that for every wrong there is a remedy. But in international law we have not

advanced by any means as far as we have advanced in municipal law. There is yet no judicial way of enforcing a right in international law. When one nation wrongs another or wrongs many others, there is no tribunal before which the wrong-doer can be brought. Either it is necessary supinely to acquiesce in the wrong, and thus put a premium upon brutality and aggression, or else it is necessary for the aggrieved nation valiantly to stand up for its rights. Until some method is devised by which there shall be a decree of international control over offending nations, it would be a wicked thing for the most civilized Powers, for those with most sense of international obligations, and with keenest and most generous appreciation of the difference between right and wrong, to disarm. If the great civilized nations of the present day should completely disarm, the result would mean an immediate recrudescence of barbarism in one form or another. Under any circumstances a sufficient armament would have to be kept up to serve the purposes of international police ; and until international cohesion and the sense of international duties and rights are far more advanced than at present, a nation desirous both of securing respect for itself and of doing good to others must have a force adequate for the work which it feels is allotted to it as its part of the general world-duty. Therefore it follows that a self-respecting, just, and far-seeing nation should on the one hand endeavour by every means to aid in the development of the various movements which tend to provide substitutes for war, which tend to render nations in their actions towards one another, and indeed towards their own peoples, more responsive to the general sentiment of humane and civilized mankind ; and, on the other hand, that it should keep prepared, while scrupulously avoiding wrong-doing itself, to repel any wrong, and, in exceptional cases, to take action which in a more advanced stage of international relations would come under the head

of the exercise of the international police. A great free people owes it to itself and to all mankind not to sink into helplessness before the powers of evil."

These words, in addition to expressing the American policy, also voice accurately the Japanese policy. That the people of the United States recognize that this is so, is shown by the very remarkable cablegram sent to the Emperor of Japan at a banquet to Prince Fushimi in America, at which the Assistant-Secretary of State, Mr. Loomis, assisted. The message ran:—

"The health of the Emperor has just been drunk amid great enthusiasm. The sentiment was warmly applauded that the character and ability of the Emperor would prove as potent in the regeneration of Asia as it had been in the regeneration of his own country."

Japan is convinced of the value of arbitration in international affairs, and is probably to be the leader in matters of arbitral reference. Writing on the arbitration treaty with America, a leading Tokyo newspaper said: "The weft and woof of international relationship growing more and more intricate with the progress of world-wide intercourse, the increase of occasions for differences of views on treaty matters may not be unavoidable, and nothing is better advised than to have beforehand an instrument whereby to amicably adjudge such disputes when they arise."

"To be a power in the world," says Count Okuma, "is to have a right to discuss any international question along with other Powers. Without this right, no nation could be called a Power in the proper sense of the word."

With reference to the present war and its results, the same eminent statesman says: "Whether we come out victorious or not in the present war, one thing is quite certain. We shall no longer stand aloof from the current of international politics. Territorial expansion forms no part of our ambition. We simply contend that Western civilization is not the monopoly of European nations. We

have accepted its entire programme, and we should be untrue to that civilization, which has bestowed upon us so much of its beneficent influence, if we were not to realize our duty in the great position to which we have attained."

When all the nations of the world have come to realize more clearly their duty as members of an international whole, and act less for national ambition instead of international amity, as if they were not an entity apart, the sooner the day of real internationalism will have arrived.

CHAPTER XX

QUO VADIS ?

STEP by step the national development has led the Japanese nation to a point where it is quite justifiable for them to look with pride upon the progress their practical patriotism has enabled them to accomplish. Not only has Japan become one of the eight great Powers of the world, but she has successfully demonstrated that she is the one great Power which dominates Eastern Asia. The wonderful force lying in Japan's hands is not even yet properly realized, and there are unknown potentialities of which the other nations have not even a suspicion. But before long this nation, which is able to think out problems as thoroughly as any Oriental, and act upon the result of the thought as energetically as any Western race, will receive its full recognition in every branch of national life. The force which is possessed by a people, efficient in every department of national life and possessing the unique impulse of a sentient practical patriotism and an undivided public opinion, is so unknown, so enormous as to defy its measurement by any standards possessed by the Western world. A new national standard has been evolved, and the necessity of national efficiency has received enormous momentum. The recognition of Japan's right to a high place among the nations of the world has also brought about a complete refutation of the formerly universal opinion as to the national superiority of those peoples living in the artificial geographical division called Europe.

Japan's emergency has changed this, and in the future there is no more Asia, no more Europe, no hard-and-fast colour and race distinctions. The blood spilt on the glacis of the Port Arthur forts has for ever wiped out the colour-line in national achievement. The world has become again a community of nations, not a series of unequal, water-tight compartments. The race is now to the fittest, and who will deny that the victors of Port Arthur do not stand a chance of being placed in the front of the world's nations? If efficiency and fitness are to be the tests of national greatness Japan will stand first, not last.

"Civilization," says Mr. Shimada, the well-known Japanese politician, "is not a thing exclusively possessed by any one race of human beings; it is a possession common to all. Any race or tribe that will exert itself to the utmost to promote its own prosperity ought to have a right to enjoy freely the natural effects of its exertions; on no account should it be interfered with by others, so long as its doings do not injuriously affect their interests. It is to be greatly regretted that such a simple and plain reason is frequently overlooked by the white or Caucasian race, who, accustomed as it is, for ages past, to enjoy all the advantages of a superior race, has at last begun to regard itself as the only civilized race of the world. The peoples belonging to this race consider themselves seriously wronged whenever they see others trying to gain ground as a strong and wealthy nation. They do not hesitate to declare that the world is expressly destined for their exclusive possession, and that the others have no right whatever to do with the world and its civilization. But it goes without saying that such presumptuous views are nothing short of a scandal to humanity and human rights. No nation or individual can be excluded from the right of enjoying the fruit of his own labour. This ought to hold good in all places and at all times. And, moreover, a majority of the white men profess that they are

followers of Christ, that is to say, that they believe in the only true God as their heavenly Father, and in the universal brotherhood of man. Is not, then, their belief incompatible with the distinction they so sharply make between them and the other races of man?"

It is no exaggeration to say, as did the *New York Sun*, after the fall of Port Arthur, that "the peace of a hemisphere is in the hands of the Japanese." What are the intentions, the aspirations of this new power which is permanent in Asia, and which will soon possess an important voice in the settlement of all international questions? This is the question which is agitating the chancellories of the other seven great Powers of the world. Although these Powers now admit that there is this first-class nation arisen in their midst, they are full of suspicion and full of fear as to what may happen as a result of Japan's coming to her full strength. They watch her very much as Jason watched the sprouting of the warriors from the dragon's teeth, and fear the worst, knowing so little of this new force that they have been instrumental in bringing into being. The very fact that it is by her military and naval exploits that Japan has forced recognition from the world, makes the nations fear that they have to do with a warlike and aggressive Power, instead of realizing the right interpretation of her position. The readiness of the acceptance of this belief is a sad commentary upon the sentiments and beliefs of the nations of the world, as is also the fact that it was necessary for Japan to win battles before she was at all recognized as a serious Power. By the present war Japan, whether she obtains the full terms of peace she may demand or not, has convinced even the most reluctant to admit her great qualities as a belligerent. Now is the time to ask the question, what are the aspirations of the new Power, and have we to look for peace or for war from the victorious Japanese, who hold in their hands the domination of the Far East? This is the question that all those nations who

have torn fragments from the living carcass of China must face, and the fear that a warlike Japan may mean danger to their stolen property must cause apprehension. It has already caused the German Emperor to give tongue to the cry of the Yellow Peril. Although this crusade is ostensibly to be directed against an Asiatic menace, in reality it resolves itself into a question of the safety of Kiao-chau and German concessions. As it is with Germany, so it is with the other nations. Must all the plans of the chancellories be revised in order to meet a possible danger to possessions in Asia? To answer all this it is only necessary to turn again to the utterances of the Japanese Emperor on the all-important subject of the future of his country; in these there is ample reassurance for the most apprehensive. And in reading the Imperial words, it must never be forgotten that they are no impromptu speeches or telegrams, such as we are accustomed to from the lips of European monarchs or American presidents. They are something far more serious than that, partaking of the nature of proclamations, for the very position of the Japanese Emperor in the eyes of his subjects is different from anything that can be found in Europe. Besides his position, there is his character to be considered, and also the powers granted him under the Constitution. It is no exaggeration to say that as a monarch the Japanese Emperor stands pre-eminent at the present moment. And he has had to accomplish his great work of making Japan what she is now without any of that preparation for kingship which falls to the lot of Western monarchs. Everything was against him, and yet, at the time of the Restoration, he gathered all the threads into his hand, and for forty years has been the motive-power for progress in every department of his empire. Situated as he is in isolation, he is not able to touch all the thousand and one details of national existence; but the broad lines of policy, the essential foundations for success, are due to him. There is no statesman

in Japan, however great, not even the wonderful Ito himself, who does not acknowledge that he is but the instrument of the Emperor, and that all his work would have been unavailing had it not been for the Imperial impulse. Speaking little, thinking much, the Emperor of Japan is one whose utterances must carry weight in Japan above anything else. By the Constitution he is granted the greatest powers to enforce his utterances, and to see that the policy he lays down as the best shall be carried out. The Ministers of State are responsible to the Emperor alone, and are dismissed or retained at his pleasure. The Emperor is the head of the army and of the navy. As regards foreign relations, he is also supreme. By the thirteenth Article of the Constitution, it is held that the conduct of diplomatic affairs forms a part of the Imperial prerogative, and lies entirely outside the rights of the Imperial Diet. Thus the utterances of the Emperor on foreign relations are those of the man who decides those relations, not merely those of one who suggests them. The following extracts from speeches and Imperial edicts allow of no misunderstanding as to the Imperial policy towards foreign countries. In an Imperial proclamation of April 21, 1895, occurs the following :—

“We deem it that the development of the prestige of the country could be obtained only by peace. It is Our mission, which We inherited from our ancestors, that peace should be maintained in an effectual way. The foundations of the great policy of Our ancestors has been made more stable. We desire that We shall, together with Our people, be specially guarded against arrogance or relaxation. It is what We highly object to, that the people should become arrogant by being puffed up with triumph, and despise others rashly, which would go towards losing the respect of foreign Powers. Since the development of the nation can be obtained by peace, it is a divine duty imposed upon Us by Our ancestors, and it has been Our intention

and endeavour since Our accession to the throne to maintain peace so as to enjoy it constantly. . . . We are positively against insulting others and falling into idle pride by being elated by victories, and against losing the confidence of Our friendly states."

The war with China was entered into in no spirit of aggression, and the results show that the actions of Japan bore out her avowed intentions, as expressed in the following quotation from an Imperial edict: "Devoted as We unalterably are, and ever have been, to the principles of peace, We were constrained to take up arms against China for no other reason than Our desire to secure for the Orient an enduring peace." At the time of the putting in force of the revised treaties with foreign Powers in 1899, an Imperial rescript was issued, enjoining upon the Japanese people such conduct as would lead "to the end that subjects and strangers alike may enjoy equal privileges and advantages, and that, every source of dissatisfaction being avoided, relations of peace and amity with all nations may be strengthened and consolidated in perpetuity."

From these it is abundantly evident that Japan is for peace and not for war, and, indeed, the whole of her past history confirms it. Never invaded, Japan has, in comparison with other nations, known few wars during the two thousand odd years of her existence as a State.

"Our history," writes a Japanese diplomat, "shows that we have not been aggressive, and have not exalted the arts of war above those of peace. We are essentially a peaceable and peace-loving people. Since the establishment of our empire, 2564 years ago (661 years before the commencement of the Christian era), by the Emperor Jimmu—whose descendants, in an unbroken line, have occupied the throne of Japan until to-day—our country has only twice invaded another. The first was about 1700 years ago, about the time when all the present great nations of Europe were governed by a few legions of

Roman soldiers, and the Britons were skin-clad and woad-daubed savages."

The lengthy prolonged negotiations with Russia before the present war showed that the Emperor of Japan was steadfast in his determination to cling to peace. Long before the breaking off of negotiations, the Imperial Diet and the people of Japan had been clamouring for war, and it would have been to Japan's advantage to make war earlier, but the peace was kept, and effort after effort was made to prevent the outbreak. In this connection the following statement of Baron Suyematsu is of considerable interest: "It was just one day after the rupture of diplomatic relations with Russia that I met with General Count Katsura, the Premier of Japan, when he told me that during that long-protracted negotiation with Russia, not one of our military or naval officers or men had come to him to disturb him with their opinions on diplomacy or politics."

That the war was necessary to secure Japan's very existence does not prove that the Imperial desire was changed, but only shows that there was no peaceful means by which the situation could be solved. It remains true, that so long as there are two alternatives Japan will incline to peace.

"Peace at any price," however, does not form a part of the Japanese national policy, nor has there been any lack of wakefulness in the matter of military and naval preparations. One of the first lessons Japan learnt from the Western world was the absolute necessity of possessing an efficient army and navy if she wished for peace. Admiral Fisher, when a delegate to the Peace Congress at the Hague, wrote, as an autograph, "The stronger the British navy, the greater the certainty of peace," and this may be taken to represent the sentiment planted in Japan by her foreign mentors.

Less than forty years ago Japan was a feudal country

under the sway of militarism. The soldiers were all, and the merchants were nothing. Now everything is changed, and it has come to be recognized that it is by peaceful means, by the development of commerce and of industries, that the future of the nation is to be made great. Slowly, but surely, this truth was borne in upon the Japanese people by the influence of the Emperor and advanced thinkers, and now, as a nation, they are convinced that, while wars may be necessary to secure permanent peace, they do little good and much harm to the nation.

It is, in a nutshell, the new policy of Japan, in her action as a State, just as the Imperial utterances give the policy of Japan towards foreign nations. And since both these policies consider peace and international good feeling as essential elements in ensuring national progress, it may safely be assumed that there will never be a time when all the weightiest influences of the country will not be thrown into the balance against a possible war. Against this view it may be argued that these are elements which are essential to every nation, and that the welfare of every state is in reality bound up in the maintenance of peace. That may well be so, but in Japan this fact has been recognized and acted upon, while in other countries it is at most a theory.

Conquest for conquest's sake or for the acquisition of territory has never been a principle of the Japanese nation. A sense of justice and true national interests have always been the motives which led them to take up arms against another nation. Under no circumstance have they lost sight of these two great principles. In their foreign policy, it makes no difference with them whether a country they deal with be situated in the West or in the East. They will always be ready to co-operate with Europeans, even against the race they belong to, when they feel the co-operation absolutely necessary for the cause of justice.

As an American writer puts it, "We might even say that by historic probity, through long centuries, Japan so developed her own home resources without trespassing upon the rights of her neighbours (when her immense military genius would have enabled her to trespass) that she has quite put to the blush the hypocrisy of nominally "more enlightened" and more self-righteous nations, that (including ourselves) have not failed to belie their morality at home and abroad by taking advantage of inoffensive and home-respecting peoples in Africa, India, Mexico, the Philippines, etc. If ever there was a legitimate and honourable struggle of a noble, intelligent, and remarkably unaggressive people to defend its rights—the rights of humanity, international treaties, progressive science, industry, free conscience and free speech—it is in the magnificent example this renaissance of Japan has given the world."

Peace and the cause of justice will always be preferred before war and oppression. As has been shown in dealing with Japan's international sentiment, the United States and Japan see almost eye to eye on international moral questions. The international sense of Japan is truer than that of the United States, whose executive head is often hampered by the elected bodies, who are not free from the effects of outside and biassed influences. But Japan is, as she has been in the past, a peace-loving nation, respecting the just rights of others, and interested in her own affairs rather than in those of her neighbours. Western civilization, however, does not permit of a nation living for itself and in itself, and international *rôle* is forced upon each and every one, and a nation must be active beyond its frontiers or sink into significance. Without playing an international *rôle*, without seriousness and ability, no nation can be considered great, or possess weight in the world's councils.

The first result of Japan's recognition as a first-class

Power is the declaration of a tacit Monroe doctrine for at least the Eastern half of Asia. And the fact that Japan should be content with a mere Monroe doctrine is of supreme importance to those nations of Europe having possessions in Asia. Japan does not seek territory on the Asiatic mainland, but she is determined that the integrity of independent Asiatic nations shall be respected. While in theory all the nations are disciples of this idea of integrity being maintained, opportunity generally forces them to be but frail vessels, and the opportune death of a missionary may overcome the most serious moral scruples of a nation. Japan to-day is able to practise what all the world preached, and is in a position to enforce the maintenance of the Asiatic *status quo*. "She is now able," writes a Japanese professor, "to stand up to the largest of European nations, and say, 'Thus far shalt thou go and no further ;' and when the war is over, and truth, and justice, and organization, and national patriotism have conquered, as they must do, then she will be able to see her way clearly towards the fulfilment of her obvious destiny, the regeneration of all the Farther East."

There will in all probability be no formal declaration of this new Monroe doctrine, but the sweeping back of Russian aggression from China and Korea is a sufficiently significant signpost. It is also fairly certain that it will not be necessary for Japan to go to war to enforce her opinions in the Farther East, any more than it was necessary for the United States to do so over the question between Venezuela and the European Powers. Such European Powers as are moral and sincere in their expressions as to the maintenance of the integrity of Asiatic nations are as secure in their possessions as are the European-owned colonies in America. There is no active programme outlined against those who already have possessions ; there is, however, a very decided probability of disapproval being expressed against a desire to adopt aggressive or oppressive

measures. "Hands off" for the future is the notice-board erected in the Far East; those who possess the right of way may pass, but trespassers, loiterers with intent, will be proceeded against with the utmost rigour. The Monroe doctrine of Japan does not touch trade and industry, these are to be gained by the most capable in free competition. "The open door and equal opportunity" is the Japanese motto in commercial and industrial matters in Asia or Europe. As to the possessions owned by European nations in China and elsewhere, even if the title deeds are none too valid, it rests with the nations themselves as to their tranquillity of possession. They have to take positive action before Japan will change from her purely negative position. But they will do well to remember that "peace at any price" forms no part of Japanese national or international sentiment—when national interests or justice is endangered. Count Okuma in a recent speech dealt very plainly with the new Monroe doctrine, when he said, "What will be the position of Japan in the world in case she wins the final victory? What change will take place with regard to her in the eye of the world? It is greatly to be desired that she may then be regarded as worthy to be admitted into the states system of Europe and America, and to have a right to discuss any international problem. The United States of America consolidated her power before beginning to mix in the affairs of the world. This is the only wise course she had to take, and, indeed, the law of evolution requires any nation aiming at aggrandizement to do the same. Then, is it not too much for young Japan to aspire to rise with one stride into that place which can be attained only by gradual steps? Yet we need not be disappointed. It is almost certain that we may enjoy the same paramount influence in Eastern Asia after our achievement of victory, as the United States has done in America. But to keep this post to our credit requires a strong and consistent

diplomatic policy, always backed by the public opinion of the whole nation. Then it is that our voice will be listened to with deference concerning any question that may arise in the affairs of China, Korea, Siberia, or any other country on the Asiatic continent. In a word, it is to be earnestly recommended that we should lose no time in taking advantage of the opportunity to become the truly leading soul in Asiatic affairs. This is, indeed, the first step to be recognized as one of the great Powers of the world in reality, not in name alone. Taking for granted that Japan has secured her position as the principal state on the Asiatic continent, it is but natural that we should next turn our attention to the questions themselves that may arise there."

This adoption of a Monroe doctrine by Japan does not in any way permit of a belief in the "Yellow Peril." The American Monroe doctrine has never been made the basis of an "American Peril" agitation, whatever alarm may have been felt as to the entrance of the United States into the international arena. What the United States is doing in Central and South America, Japan will do in Asia, that is all. It is incomprehensible that such action should be regarded as dangerous, or as constituting a peril to the European world. The United States have decreed that there shall be no further annexation of territory in the American continent by non-American Powers, and this is what Japan will do in Asia—at least in Farther Asia. She will keep peace amongst the independent Asiatic states, and calm, by the very fact that she is a friend of the European nations, any too hurried attempt by subject Asiatic races to follow in her footsteps. The gulf between the peoples of the United States and the South American republics is as great as that between the Japanese and the peoples of the Asiatic mainland. Force of circumstances, the weaving of destiny in each case, has thrust upon one nation the duty of protecting and caring for the others

placed near her without, however, possessing equal advantages. It has often been said that Japan was the Britain of the Far East; a much truer parallel would be found between it and the United States.

So much use has been made of the "Yellow Peril" bogey that long use has accustomed even the British public to be tolerant of it, but the foolishness of the agitation is apparent. Owing its origin to the Emperor of Germany, it has been worn threadbare in the interests of Russia in Europe. Even in England, where past experience should have warned the newspapers and people in general of the nature and true meaning of such press campaigns as those of the "Yellow Peril" nature, the reports are too seriously discussed. This being so, it is perhaps interesting to quote the opinions of some Japanese authorities upon this subject. Count Okuma, whose position and weight in Japanese affairs are well known, writes from the other point of view upon the peril from a dominant Russia, composed largely of Tartar stock. He says—

"Let us consider, first of all, the question of the 'Yellow Peril,' or what is sometimes known as colourphobia. History tells us that the so-called white people suffered from the invasion of the Mongols, who, crossing over the Ural Mountain Range, pushed their interests as far as the Danube, and that the dominion of the Mongols was extended under the rule of Genghis Khan from the Chinese Sea to the banks of the Dnieper. In 1233 Ogdai, whose troops were as numerous as their spoils, despatched armies in many directions. One was directed against Korea. Victorious and always advancing, the Mongols moved on into Hungary and Poland. Genghis Khan was a formidable enemy of the nations in the twelfth century. Wherever he went he scattered his enemy, and made havoc of everything with which he and his soldiers came into contact.

"The word 'Tartars' created consternation among the

people at that time. The germ of the 'Yellow Peril' is to be already found there, so that it is by no means a new phenomenon; but in the twentieth century, with the development of the island empire in the East, the old fear of the yellow race again took possession of some Europeans. To be sure, the term 'Yellow Race' comprises Orientals; but, strictly speaking, it is difficult to draw a line of demarcation among the colours of the different peoples of the world, for a certain mixture of race has taken place in the course of the migration of the human race.

"The inhabitants of China were peace-loving people, and as they were subjected under the oppression of the Northern barbarians, they contrived various means of self-defence. The long wall of China was built for this purpose. Confucius often pointed out the dangers from the barbarians of the North. The fact that China, a peace-loving country, was invaded by the barbarians is clearly shown in her history, and in the literature and customs of the people. And it appears from historical study that these barbarians have been holding their stronghold in Russia for the last hundreds of years. The real cause of the 'Yellow Peril' does not lie with Japan or with China, but with the gigantic neighbour of the North."

Count Okuma thus sums up Japan's aims: "The Japanese stand upon liberty, humanity, and justice. Japan wills to be the patron of civilization, and to protect a tottering empire and a kingdom from tumbling into dust. This is the embodiment of the Japanese spirit as developed after coming into touch with that of America and England."

The Honourable S. Shimada, a leading Japanese statesman, is no less worthy of attention when he writes on the ambition of Japan and the fact that intellectuality does not depend upon race. He says—

"The Japanese have a noble ambition to bring back the Orientals to life and activity. The gratification of

this nation, however, is not based upon any racial bias, which is nothing more than the difference in colour and physical constitution of the human race. Strictly speaking, the racial difference will diminish with the development of science, and of the means of communications, which will bring the nations into closer contact, annihilating all the differences in customs and manners. Taking the present state of humanity into consideration, the Europeans make assertions that they are the race which govern and control the destiny of mankind. While there is some truth in this statement, man's intellectual and moral progress does not depend upon the difference in race. The Hungarians are Orientals, while the Indians are Caucasians, and belong to the same stock as the present white people in European countries; yet the former are making steady progress in civilization, and the latter, subject to climatical and other influences, have lost their national independence. Those who lay stress upon the difference in race, look at the present situation only, and ignore entirely the past and the future. If the millions and millions of the Orientals are destined to rise again, Japan will play the part of their saviour. Nothing can be happier than to restore the race whose fate has been sealed for so many centuries."

He also quotes a fragment of early history to prove his contention, that—"When Commodore Perry came to Japan and a treaty was concluded, a certain Ishikwa, the Mayor of Yokohama, visited the ship and requested the Commodore to write something on a fan in memory of this great event. Perry took up the pen and wrote on it, 'Friendly to all nations.' The interpreter translated it in the language of Confucius, 'Shikai keitei nari,' or, literally, 'All men are brothers.' The language of the commodore is full of noble sentiments, and reflects the entire feeling of Americans. Japan has this noble feeling, yet we hear that some Europeans bring up charges against Japan on the ground of the 'Yellow Peril.' Our ambition is, not to

oppose the white people, but to raise the position of the degenerate humanity in the Orient to its original moral splendour. Do not let the minor differences in appearance be obstacles in performing man's duty. Nations whose doings are opposed to the proper duty of man, no matter what race they may be, must be regarded as enemies of mankind."

The difference between the methods of Japan and Russia in their treatment of China he considers clearly the proportionate danger of a world peril—

"In 1899, when troubles arose in North China, rioters besieged the ministers of different countries in Peking, and Japan, in union with the Europeans, did everything in her power to deliver these peoples from danger. She suppressed the Chinese, the yellow race, and helped the white people. If the behaviour of the Russians is to be taken as representing the white people, we should raise the cry, 'White Peril,' instead of 'Yellow Peril.'"

"We sincerely hope that those portions of the white race who look upon Japan with suspicion, thinking that Japan will unite the Orientals to oppose the white people, will change their minds and regard the situation with impartial eyes. Japan desires to raise the position of hundreds and millions of Oriental people so that they may share the 'heavenly grace' with the white race."

His opinions as to the danger to be apprehended from Russia find an echo in the words of Mr. Soyeda, president of one of the most important of Japanese banks—

"Russia's occupation of Manchuria not only disturbs the peace and obstructs the commerce of the Far East, but may one day endanger the world, because China, drilled and led by Russia, may bring into actuality the 'Yellow Peril.'"

While it might be going too far to proclaim that these Japanese authorities are wholly right, and the Russians wholly wrong in their views on a "Yellow Peril," this

exposition of their feelings on the subject at least enables both sides of the question to be seen. Does it not appear likely that Japan, with all her intimate knowledge of the past and present of China, should be a safer guide than Russia, who knows practically nothing accurately about the nation or its feelings and ideals? Is it not an intricate machine, with dangerous potentialities, safer in the charge of a skilled engineer, familiar with its construction, than it would ever be in the hands of an untried apprentice? Russia's aim in China has not been disguised; it is to raise up a native army similar to the native army in India. Japan would be the last nation to raise China into a great military force; the limit of her endeavours in this direction might be to enable the northern viceroys to protect their territories from foreign aggression.

"There are some," says Baron Suyematsu, "who accuse Japan as the probable organizer of the Pan-Asiatic Peril. Peace-loving as the Japanese also are, the characteristics, notions, and feelings of the Japanese and Chinese are so different that there is no possibility of their complete amalgamation in one common cause; and what is true with regard to the Chinese, holds even more true with regard to other Asiatic peoples. Japan aspires to elevate herself to the same plane and to press onward in the same path of civilization as the countries of the West. Even in everyday matters one likes to choose good company, so as not to estrange his best friends. Can any one imagine that Japan would like to organize a Pan-Asiatic agitation of her own seeking, in which she must take so many different peoples of Asia into her confidence and company—people with whom she has no joint interests, or any community of thought and feeling? Let us view the matter from another standpoint, and I trust I shall be excused if I allow myself to be extremely candid. In Europe and on its borders there are many states, some of them well advanced, some rather backward. Would it be practicable for all these states to

form themselves into one compact body in organized offensive combination against an outside Power, say America? I venture to assert that, even with the intelligence and ability of the advanced nations of Europe, such a union of interests and strength would be quite impossible. How, then, could it be expected for one moment that the various peoples of the East, with their varying degrees of intelligence, their conflicting interests, and their old-standing feuds and jealousies, could ever have cohesion enough to range themselves under one banner against the powers of the Occident?"

India is a mass of tribes and races lacking cohesion, and yet India presumably is to be included in the Pan-Asiatic movement. "Is there," he says, "any likelihood of these Indian natives and other Asiatic peoples being organized into a compact and united force, as some mischievous writers suggest? If this argument can fairly be applied as regards organization into an effective fighting force of the Asiatic peoples, how much stronger does it become when the matter is considered in a political sense! The peoples of the East are, some of them, politically independent; others are under the sway of one or other European Power. To combine them in a single undertaking would be a task utterly impracticable and unpromising. Japan has already cast in her lot with the Occident, and in the eyes of many Asiatics it is to be remembered the Japanese are no less 'Yang-Kwai' (foreign devils) than the Occidentals. Moreover, no Occidentals need imagine that Japan would particularly welcome the creation of a strong power on the continent of Asia in close proximity to her own shores. To me it seems that the charge of organizing a Pan-Asiatic League, which is now and then brought against Japan, if taken seriously, would only be to subject her to utterly unjust persecution, quite unworthy of the civilized nations of the world."

Baron Kaneko Kentaro speaks in no uncertain voice on this question :—

“Let us now consider what has been called the ‘Yellow Peril,’ a phrase of which I have heard and seen much since the outbreak of this war. What do they mean when they talk of the ‘Yellow Peril’? They mean that when Japan becomes supreme in the Orient, she will unite under her banner all the peoples of Asia, and that through this combination Europe will be threatened by a peril which is called ‘yellow’ because it will array the so-called ‘yellow’ races against the races that are white. And they argue that, however just the cause of Japan may be in her struggle against Russia, Europe must not merely do nothing in the way of sympathizing with or helping her, but she must side with Russia, and aid her in so defeating and crushing Japan that she will never again be able to rise as an independent Power. Here is another cruel conclusion reached from no basis of actuality or fact. Look for a moment at the origin of the phrase ‘Yellow Peril.’ It was manufactured by a certain treacherous diplomat and politician in order to arouse feelings of fear as well as the passions of hatred among the peoples of the West at the expense of the Japanese. Let me therefore remind you of the true history of the only ‘Yellow Peril’ the world has ever had. For there was once a ‘Yellow Peril,’ and the nations suffered from it. The first ‘Yellow Peril’ in history was the invasion of Europe by the Mongolians in the year 1241 A.D. Penetrating to Moscow, they continued their march into Austria, and swarmed into other parts of Europe, devastating and plundering wherever they went. After thus terrorizing Europe and ravaging its eastern territories, the Mongols directed their course to Japan. They reached our islands in 1268, and the results of the ‘Yellow Peril’ there were far more terrible than any which Europe had experienced. For thirteen years subsequent to that date, up to 1281, we had the ‘Yellow Peril’ with us in its most

menacing form ; at one time the Mongolians were in actual occupation of our northern coast. During the period of their stay they burned our villages, killed our women and children, and plundered us of our treasures, not leaving a single conceivable act of wickedness uncommitted. Such was the terror inspired by the 'Yellow Peril' as we knew it, that even to-day in Japan it is customary to stop children from crying by telling them that the yellow man, or the Mongol, will get them. All the while the Japanese people resisted the invaders, and the patriotic defence of their country by our warriors enabled us to utterly rout and defeat the enemy, with the slaughter of 100,000 Mongolians, only three of whom were permitted to return to their homes alive. When, therefore, we hear people talk of the 'Yellow Peril' in the East, with obvious reference to Japan, we are bound to reply by asking who it was that, by the gallantry of its people, crushed back the tide of Mongolian invasion, and saved Europe from the fiendish wickedness of the only 'Yellow Peril' which the world has ever known? And if, ignoring the fact that Japan was thus once the saviour of Europe when Europe did not even know who had saved her, both Europe and America agree in fearing a modern 'Yellow Peril,' then I assert, without the slightest chance of being successfully contradicted, that Japan has far more reason to fear a 'White Peril' in the East than the world, or any part of it, has to anticipate danger from Japan. Observe the advance of the European nations into Asia. What are the extension of French Tonquin and the occupation of Kiao-Chau by Germany if not 'White Perils' for the Chinese Empire? There is another 'White Peril' for China on her northern border in Russia's occupation of Manchuria, but it is far more of a 'White Peril' for Japan. We regard it as a real and dangerous menace to our national existence, not for a moment imaginary in character like the 'Yellow Peril' now so much talked about in Europe and America. The phrase about the 'Yellow Peril,' and I say it

emphatically, is thus nothing more than a trick concocted by disingenuous and treacherous diplomats, not merely to disturb and bring to an end the cordial feelings which characterize the relations towards us of the United States and England, but also to substitute for such feelings an attitude of antipathy on the part of those Powers."

"I thought the West," says another Japanese, "had more self-respect, a firmer trust in its institutions, a deeper confidence in the principles which underlie them. Does Europe really believe that her civilization is a rickety framework to be easily upset by a horde of Asiatics?"

"Attempts made to emphasize the two systems of human thought—one white and the other yellow—do no credit to the former. The Kaiser's well-known picture shows but faint faith on the part of the artist. He seems to be full of apprehension lest Christianity succumb to Buddhism, unless defended by the allied physical forces of Europe. What a far cry from Constantine! The Kaiser points out his Krupp gun to Christ and commands, 'Conquer by this sign!' and his fellow-defenders of the faith say 'Amen!' This Hohenzollern, who sounded loudest the alarm of a 'Yellow Peril,' confesses in his picture his wavering faith in the stability and vitality of Christendom. Not so we, who, at the same time that we believe in the possibility of Japan's future growth, accept without stint European institutions as superior to ours, and therefore highly worthy of adoption. I repeat, there is no ground for a 'Yellow Peril;' first, because Japan is sincerely convinced of the superiority of the West; second, because we believe that a truly superior culture is the common property of all mankind; third, because European civilization forms an invincible bulwark against any Asiatic onslaught."

Japan intends to be the means of uplifting the nations of Asia, of protecting them so as to enable them to move along the path of progress undisturbed, and, finally, to bring

into being a relationship of friendly Asiatic races, civilized with Western ideas, which will be a factor for the progress of the human race. "We feel it our duty," says Baron Kaneko, "to do our utmost to extend these blessings to other Oriental nations whom we could influence. Having ourselves benefited from the acquirements and experiences of the Western countries, we felt ourselves bound in return to urge upon Korea and China, as the United States had urged upon us, the wisdom of adopting the 'open door' policy towards foreign nations, that being the only policy by which enlightened people could hope to advance along the path of self-development, at once securing its own well-being, and contributing to maintain peace in the continent of Asia. We have made these representations to Korea and China for thirty years past, and have noted with satisfaction that the policy of the United States in Manchuria is practically identical with the policy of the Japanese Government. Japan is really acting as the pioneer of Anglo-American civilization in the East. It is for this which we are fighting, and only this is the meaning of the war. And while we are thus labouring for ourselves, our most earnest desire is that the kindred people who are our neighbours shall labour in the same manner for themselves, and endeavour, as we have done, to raise themselves above the hardships and miseries of their present condition. That sums up, in a word, Japan's position among Eastern nations. We are in duty bound and in interest forced to do all that lies in our power to assist our neighbours in the path which we have followed; and, in performing this task, we esteem peace and the preservation of the kindest and most cordial relations with all as an indispensable pre-requisite to success."

When once permanent peace is restored, Japan will be able, in the words of Professor Ruse, to "give to her neighbours that modern civilization which she herself received from the West, but which she has so well adapted

to suit the needs of the East. Her modern methods of government, both national and municipal, her educational and commercial, her military and naval systems, must be introduced into both China and Korea, and then, perhaps not far hence, instead of the turmoil and disorder which has reigned supreme for so long, there will be peace and progress and prosperity."

How thoroughly the Japanese nation is imbued with this idea of acting as an apostle of civilization and peace, may be seen from a letter sent by a Japanese officer on the field of battle to his brother. It contains these words—

"I write, dear brother, on the eve of battle and in the exposed front rank; and this may be our last word of affection on earth. But if I fall to-morrow for Japan, I know that I give my life for essential civilization and the triumph of human brotherhood."

For the Asiatic nations the advent of Japan means the dawn of a peaceful progress towards higher and better things, where they will realize the new civilization, a harmonious blend of the civilizations of the East and of the West. Let Japan see that there is no "white peril" for the independent Asiatic nations, that the new Monroe doctrine is to be respected, and there will be no greater power for peace. If Japan is not allowed to pursue her appointed peaceful path of commercial and industrial development, it will be because the European Powers have forced her to resort to war to protect vital interests. The faithlessness of Christendom has already taught Japan one evil lesson, that the possession of the mailed fist means consideration in the world.

Similar in nature to Japan's future relations with the Asiatic Powers covered by her Monroe doctrine are those which she has inaugurated towards Korea in the following treaty:—

"Article I. For the purpose of maintaining a permanent and solid friendship between Japan and Korea, and firmly

establishing peace in the Far East, the Imperial Government of Korea shall place full confidence in the Imperial Government of Japan, and adopt the advice of the latter in regard to improvement in administration.

"Article II. The Imperial Government of Japan shall in a spirit of firm friendship ensure the safety and repose of the Imperial Household of Korea.

"Article III. The Imperial Government of Japan definitely guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire.

"Article IV. In case the welfare of the Imperial Household of Korea or the territorial integrity of Korea is endangered by aggressions of a third Power or internal disturbance, the Imperial Government of Japan shall immediately take such necessary measures as circumstances require, and in such case the Imperial Government of Korea shall give full facilities to promote the action of the Imperial Japanese Government. The Imperial Government of Japan may, for the attainment of the above-mentioned object, occupy, when the circumstances require it, such places as may be necessary from strategic points of view.

"Article V. The Governments of the two countries shall not in future, without mutual consent, conclude with a third Power such an arrangement as may be contrary to the principles of the present protocol.

"Article VI. Details in connection with the present protocol shall always be arranged as the circumstances may require between the representative of Japan and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in Korea."

Great Britain is the ally of Japan, therefore the question of her future is of very considerable interest, if not of vital importance. On January 30, 1902, the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance was signed in London, and was the result, to quote Lord Lansdowne's words, of the discovery that the Far Eastern policy of the two nations "was identical."

To Japan the gain by the alliance was largely a sentimental one, since it demonstrated to all the world the fact that Japan had made such great progress that an alliance with the greatest European Power was possible. Beyond this the alliance partook rather of the nature of a shadowy assurance against attack by two Powers. For Great Britain the gain, even before the Russian war, was much more substantial. British diplomacy assumed a new importance at Peking when backed by Japan, and, amongst other results, the Tibetan expedition was rendered possible. Since the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War, and the consequent revelation of Japan's power, the advantages to British diplomacy in Europe have been very considerable.

In fact, British foreign policy all over the world has been influenced and strengthened by the alliance. The destruction of the Baltic Fleet enabled four British battleships to be sent home to play a very important part in the diplomatic crisis in Europe. We owe so much to our alliance that we should thank our lucky stars that Japan, the much-courted new Power, paramount in the Far East, is anxious not only to renew the alliance, but also to extend its scope. There is a distinct feeling that it would be advisable to make the treaty cover the whole world—an offensive and defensive co-operative arrangement for the maintenance of peace. Japan expects to obtain the island of Sakhalin as one of the results of the war, just as Great Britain has obtained a foothold in Tibet as another. The *Fiji Shimpō* advocated in 1904 a widening of the alliance to cover the questions of Persia, of Tibet, of India, as well as those of Sakhalin, China, and Korea. "Let each ally have equal rights and benefits. Let the alliance, instead of limiting the extent of the war, serve as a means of preventing all wars. Let each of the allies agree to come to the support of the other if attacked. The danger is equally great for both, because Russia will not more easily forget Tibet than Manchuria." Thus it

would seem as if Great Britain might draw still greater advantages from the Japanese alliance should she so wish. The Russians frankly admit that an offensive defensive alliance between Japan and Great Britain disposes finally of any chance of a successful attack upon India. On the other hand, if the alliance be ended through British action, then there may well be cause for anxiety. There are already in Australia, and elsewhere, existing questions which, quiescent during the alliance, would naturally come up for settlement were there no alliance. Neither could any one blame Japan, if she were cast out as a pariah nation, from seeking Asiatic friends, little as she wishes this. The effect upon the native races subject to Great Britain in Asia might also be worth consideration. The progress of Japan has fired their imagination, but they refrain from seeking her as a leader because of the fact that she is the friend of Great Britain. All of which goes to prove that on the score of national expediency, if on no other, it is necessary to take every measure, not only to secure the continuance of the alliance, but also to infuse international morality into our dealings with our ally. Japan's diplomacy will ever be exerted to bring about a closer understanding with England and America. Of the differences and affinities between Japan and these countries, Count Okuma writes as follows:—
“In many respects the Japanese bear a strong resemblance to the Anglo-Saxon race, but they differ from it in one important point—in the form of the government. England is, one might say, a democratic country, while America is a republic. Japan, however, is under the Emperor, who is all-important, and the most readily obeyed of rulers. From this point of view Japan may seem to have a better reason for uniting with Russia, or at least with Germany. Why do we attach ourselves to the Anglo-Saxon race—the race which values the people's rights above all things? This may seem, at the first

glance, quite strange. But it should be noted that the Sovereign who enjoys so infinite a power has never been known to abuse it. The Japanese Empire is a sort of patriarchy, and no doubt the patriarchal system is usually found in undeveloped societies; yet this seemingly undeveloped system is really the foundation of the country, and is the source of all that is purest and most loving. No complicated theories needed to be invented in order to secure the Imperial power; his Majesty's rights were self-existent and developed naturally. Japanese civilization has centred round the Imperial house. The fine arts, morality, and literature have all developed round it, or come out of it. When the work of the restoration was completed, the Emperor granted the people rights and liberty of his own free will, in his admirable rescript proclaiming that Japan should seek for knowledge throughout the world, and also should have a great council of the people. Can we find another such country under the sun? In every land the Sovereign gave up part of his power on being compelled by the people, or blood was shed to make the constitutional law. In our case, while we have never tried to lessen the Imperial power, the Emperor has ever been anxious to advance the people's rights; and it is not wonderful that the country in which rights and liberty are so much esteemed by the ruler should have joined hands with the Anglo-Saxon nations."

Thus, besides the immediate benefit to Great Britain from the alliance, it may lead for peace—that most desired goal of a new triple alliance—when the United States, Japan, and Great Britain shall stand together as the guardians of international justice and morality. Such a combination would be all-powerful, and might well rejuvenate the world. There is happily a moral certainty that the British nation will be wise in time, and not, like the unwise virgins of Scripture, be left to mourn outside the door.

It is no exaggeration to say that the United States would find many more ideas in common in an alliance formed with Japan than in an alliance with Great Britain. Japan, anxious always for peace and friendly relations, should she go to war in protection of her national principles, will do so with all the earnestness and thoroughness which she puts into her peaceful progress. The day of land-grabbing in Asia is over, and the new world Power has given her fiat to a new Monroe doctrine which gives the nations new standards of conduct at home and abroad. Japan's future does not lie in the hands of a handful of elected legislators or changing cabinets, it rests upon the solid basis of a united people, who live their loyalty and put their patriotism into deeds.

The Japanese feel, in the words of one of their writers, that "we have been raised by Providence to do a work in the world, and that work we must do humbly and faithfully as opportunity comes to us. Our work, we take it, is this: to battle for the right and uphold the good, and to help to make the world fair and clean, so that none may ever have cause to regret that Japan has at last taken her rightful place among the nations of the world."

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